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THE  
HISTORY  
O F  
*I T A L Y,*

Written in *Italian* by  
**FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,**

A Nobleman of *Florence.*  
IN TWENTY BOOKS.

\*\*\*\*\*  
Translated into ENGLISH by the  
**Chevalier AUSTIN PARKE GODDARD,**  
Knight of the Military Order of St. *Stephen.*  
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VOL. IV.  
Containing the SEVENTH and EIGHTH Books  
of the History.

\*\*\*\*\*  
LONDON:  
Printed by JOHN TOWERS, in *Piccadilly.*  
M.DCC.LIII.

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In Twenty Books

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FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI'S

HISTORY  
OF  
The WARS in ITALY.  
BOOK VII.

THE CONTENTS.

*The Pope endeavours to get Possession of Romagna, and for this Purpose stirs up several Princes against the Venetians. Maximilian inconsiderately attempts to force his Way into Italy. His ill Success in Friuli. The Pope makes himself Master of several Towns to which the Church had a Right. The King of Spain comes into Italy. The Plot at Ferrara. Tumults in Genoa. The Diet of Constance. A Congress between the Kings of France and Aragon at Savona.*

THE Public had Reason to expect A. D.  
that the Year 1705, having put 1505.  
an End to the Wars, occasioned  
by the different Claimants to the Kingdom Reasons  
for Peace  
of in Italy.

## THE HISTORY OF

A. D. of Naples, *Italy* would now enjoy Peace  
 1505. and Tranquillity: But there soon appeared  
 as also for plenty of Sparks that threatened a new  
 War. Combustion. For *Philip*, who had taken  
 upon him the Title of King of *Castile*,  
 being dissatisfied that his Father-in-law  
 should retain the Government of his King-  
 dom, was preparing, at the Invitation of  
 several of the Nobility, sorely against the  
 Inclination of *Ferdinando*, for his Journey  
 into *Spain*. He pretended, and indeed  
 with Reason, that it had not been in the  
 Power of the late *Queen* to enact Laws  
 concerning the Government, that should  
 be obligatory after her Decease. And  
 the King of the *Romans*, presuming on  
 his Son's Greatness, designed to make a  
 Progress into *Italy*.

THE King of *France*, in the pre-  
 ceding Year, had been highly dissatisfied  
 with the Pope, for conferring, without  
 his Participation, all the Benefices which  
 became vacant by the Death of Cardinal  
*Ascanio*, and other Ecclesiastics in the  
 Dutchy of *Milan*; and because in a late  
 Promotion of Cardinals, paying no Regard  
 to



## THE WARS IN ITALY.

5

to his earnest Sollicitation, he had refused  
to confer that Dignity on the Bishop of *Aus*\*, the Cardinal of *Rouen*'s Nephew,  
and on the Bishop of *Bajeux*, Nephew to  
*Tremouille*; and out of Resentment had  
put under Sequestration all the Revenues  
of those numerous Benefices, that the  
Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola*, and  
several other Prelates, Favourites of the  
Pope, enjoyed in the Dutchy of *Milan*.  
But being now under terrible Apprehen-  
sions from the Power of the King of the  
*Romans* and his Son, he was desirous of  
ingratiating himself with his Holiness.  
He therefore took off all the Sequestrations,  
and in the beginning of this Year sent to  
*Rome* the Bishop of *Sisteron*, who was the  
Apostolic Nuntio at his Court, to make  
various Proposals, amongst the rest offer-  
ing his Alliance against the *Venetians*, who,  
he knew, were very obnoxious to his  
Holiness, on account of the Cities they  
possessed in *Romagna*, which he was  
passionately desirous of recovering.

A. D.

1505.

1506.

JULIUS hitherto had governed with so  
much Tranquillity and Moderation, that

A 3

the

\* In some Editions *Achx.*

A. D.

1506.

The  
Pope's  
mild Be-  
haviour.

the Minds of the People were full of Admiration at his Behaviour, and could not comprehend that a Pope, who when Cardinal was full of nothing but vast Projects, and deep Designs, and who in the Times of his Predecessors *Sixtus*, *Innocent*, and *Alexander*, was reckoned to have a chief Hand in fomenting all the Disturbances of *Italy*, should now, since his Exaltation to the Popedom, a Station too often attended with ambitious and restless Desires, appear to have quite divested himself of that Ardour of Spirit, and to have sunk below that Greatness of Mind, of which he had always the Vanity to boast, and become so unlike himself, as tamely to suffer Injuries without shewing the least Resentment.

*Julius*  
alters his  
Conduct.

BUT *Julius* was not in the least altered; on the contrary, he was determined, in a proper Time, to exceed the Expectations that had been raised of him. His former generous and expensive Way of living, had been turned into an eager Desire of accumulating Money, which he

## THE WARS IN ITALY.

7

A. D.  
1506.

he knew to be the Sinews of War, and which, whenever he should be engaged in one, would enable him to maintain it; and having by this Time amassed a considerable Sum, he began to discover that he had Thoughts and Views of the largest Extent. He received and hearkened to the Bishop of *Sisteron* with abundance of Pleasure, and dispatched him back with proper Instructions for cementing a close Friendship with his most Christian Majesty; and the better to dispose the King and Cardinal of *Rouen* to concur in his Measures, he sent a Brief by *Sisteron*, in which he promised the Cardinalship to the Bishops of *Aus* and *Bayeux*: Yet in the midst of this mighty Ardor, his Mind was sometimes agitated with Scruples and Difficulties, which proceeded from the Hatred he had conceived against the King of *France*, when, flying from the Persecution of *Alexander*, he retired into that Kingdom; neither did he relish the Force, which, in a manner, was put upon him, to continue *Rouen* in the Legation of the Kingdom of *France*; sometimes he feared that the Cardinal, who passionately aimed at

A. D.  
1506.

the Popedom, would not have Patience to wait for his Death, but might try, by some extraordinary Means, to compass his Design. These Reflections rendered him sometimes doubtful, whether he should unite with *France*; tho' he was sensible, that, without this Conjunction, he was not, as yet, capable of undertaking any thing of Moment. Whilst he was thus unresolved, he sent to *Pisa* one *Biascia*, a Genoese, who was Captain of his Gallies, with Orders to arm there two light Gallies, which had been built by *Alexander*; with a View, as it was thought, to be in Readiness, if the King of *France* died, who seemed to be in a bad State of Health since his last Sickness, to free *Genoa* from the Dominion of the *French*.

WHILST the State of Affairs was in this Suspense, the Year 1506 began with King *Philip*'s Departure from the *Low-Countries* with a powerful Fleet for *Spain* \*.

That

\* He embarked the 10th of *January* with Fifty Sail, which had Four Hundred *Flemish* Gentlemen on board, Two Thousand Five Hundred *Germans*, Three Hundred *Flemings*, and Three Hundred *Swiss* Halberdiers. *Buon.*

## THE WARS IN ITALY.

9

That Prince fearing his Father-in-law <sup>A. D.</sup>  
~~1506.~~ might, with the Assistance of *France*, ~~1506.~~  
obstruct his Designs, made use of *Spanish*  
Dissimulation to deceive him. For he  
promised to leave in a manner the whole  
Direction of the Government to *Ferdinando*, and agreed that both should retain the  
Title of King of *Spain*, in the same  
manner as he and his deceased ~~Queen~~ had  
done; and that the Money arising from  
the Finances should be divided in a certain  
Proportion between them. By Virtue of  
this Agreement *Ferdinando*, tho' he had  
no Security for the Performance of the  
Articles, sent a large Fleet into *Flanders*,  
to convey *Philip* into *Spain*; on which <sup>Philip em-</sup>  
he embarked, being accompanied by his <sup>barks for</sup>  
Wife, and *Ferdinando* his second Son, <sup>Spain.</sup>  
and set Sail with a fair Wind for *Spain*.  
After two Days sailing a violent Storm  
arose, and dispersed the whole Fleet on  
the Coasts of *Bretany* and, *England*. The <sup>Is cast on</sup>  
King, with two or three Ships, after <sup>the Eng-</sup>  
running a great Risque of being cast away,  
landed at the Port of *Antona* \*. *Henry VII*,  
King of *England*, sent a great Retinue of  
Lords

\* *Southampton*.

A. D.  
1506.Goes to  
London.Signs a  
Treaty  
with  
Hen. VII.

Lords and Gentlemen to compliment him, and to invite him to *London*. As *Philip*, deprived of his Fleet, was not in a Condition to act as he pleased, he complied with *Henry*'s Request, and staid with him till his Fleet was collected ; and while it was refitting, a new Treaty was concluded and signed by the two Kings. *Philip* was treated as a Sovereign in all Respects excepting one, in which he was used like a Prisoner, *Henry* extorting from him a Promise to deliver up to him the Earl of *Suffolk*, who had taken Refuge in the *Low-Countries*, and was then in the Castle of *Namur*. As this Earl laid Claim to the Crown of *England*, *Henry* was greatly desirous of having him in his Power, but gave his Word, that his Life should be spared. He was accordingly sent to *England*, and put in Prison, where he lived to the Death of *Henry* VII, but was afterwards beheaded by his Son *Henry* VIII.

Philip re-  
ceived  
joyfully  
in Spain.

**P**HILIP had a better Passage from *England* into *Spaiu*, where, on his Arrival, almost all the Grandees resorted to him. *Ferdinando*, who knew he had not

a sufficient Force to oppose his Son-in-law, and did not think it safe to rely on *French* Promises, had depended wholly on his late Agreement with *Philip*; but when the Articles of that Treaty were scornfully rejected, he saw himself generally abandoned, and it was with great Difficulty he could be admitted to the Presence of his Son-in-law; wherefore he found himself obliged to submit to whatever Conditions should be prescribed him by *Philip*, who being a Prince of a mild and generous Temper, would not use his Power with Rigour, nor take all the Advantages that offered, especially as the old King's greatest Enemies now pleaded for him; which they did in order to hasten his Departure out of *Castile*; for they began to fear that *Ferdinando*, by his Prudence and Authority, would gain too much on their Sovereign.

IT was then stipulated, that *Ferdinando*, relinquishing the Government he had taken Possession of by Virtue of the Will of the late Queen, together with all that he could pretend to on that Account, should

A. D.  
1506.

Treaty  
between  
*Philip and*  
*Ferdinando*

do.

*A. D.* should retire instantly out of *Castile*, and  
 1506. promise never to return: That *Ferdinando* should retain the Kingdom of *Naples*; tho' there were not wanting those who endeavoured, and with good Reason, to make *Philip* sensible, that he himself had a better Right to that Kingdom, which had been acquired by the Arms and Power of *Castile*. *Ferdinando* was allowed to enjoy the Revenues of the *West-Indies* during his Life, together with the three Lordships of *San Jacopo*, *Alcantara*, and *Calatrava*, and receive annually a Pension of Twenty-five Thousand Ducats out of the Revenues of *Castile*.

*Ferdinando returns into his Kingdom of Aragon.* **A F T E R** the signing of this Treaty, *Ferdinando*, whom, for the future, we shall call the King of *Aragon*, or the Catholic King, returned immediately to his Kingdom of *Aragon*, with a Design to pass with all Speed by Sea to *Naples*\*; not so much out of a Curiosity to see that Kingdom, and put it in good Order, as to remove the Great Captain, whom he had

\* He set Sail from *Barcelona* on Sept. 4, 1506, with a Fleet of Fifty Vessels. *Buon.*

had very much suspected, since the Queen's A. D.  
1506. Death, to be meditating how to make himself Sovereign of that Country, or, at least, that he was inclined to deliver it up to *Philip* rather than to himself; for he had in vain ordered him to return to *Spain*, and he ever deferred it under various and frivolous Pretences; which made the King very doubtful whether he should be able to compel him to quit that Government, unless he went thither in Person, though King *Philip*, after the Capitulation, had given him Notice, that he expected he should pay all Obedience to the King of *Aragon*.

THE King of *France*, by this time, in a great measure recovered from his late Indisposition, was agitated by various perplexing Thoughts, and in doubt whether he should turn his Arms against the *Venetians*. The Conduct of that Republic, in the *Neapolitan War*, had highly provoked him; he had also a mighty Desire to recover the antient Appendages of the State of *Milan* \*; besides which, he was

\* These were *Cremona* and the *Ghiaradadda*, which were

*A. D.* was apprehensive that their Power might,  
 1506. at one time or other, be prejudicial to his  
 Interests. These, among others, were  
 the Reasons that had induced him to  
 enter into an Alliance with the King of  
 the *Romans*, and his Son *Philip*. But,  
 on the other Hand, the Advice he had  
 received, that *Maximilian* was preparing  
 to march into *Italy* at the Head of a pow-  
 erful Army, was very disagreeable to him ;  
 for he grew very jealous of *Philip*, who  
 inherited such vast Dominions, and who,  
 he feared, had, when in *England*, entered  
 into some new and strong Engagements  
 with the King of that Country. He also  
 considered, that by the Peace he had  
 concluded with the Catholic King, he  
 had given over all Thoughts of acquiring  
 the Kingdom of *Naples*, which had been  
 the principal Reason for his entering into  
 an Alliance with the House of *Austria*.

WHILE *Lewis* was fluctuating in this  
 Variety of Thoughts, Ambassadors from

*Maxi-*  
 were dismembered from the *Milanese*, and yielded to the  
*Venetians* by Treaty ; or perhaps the Author might intend  
 also *Bergamo*, *Brescia*, *Crema*, &c. which antiently ap-  
 pertained to the Dukedom of *Milan*.

Maximilian arrived at his Court, to notify <sup>A. D.</sup>  
to his Majesty their Master's Resolution <sup>1506.</sup>  
of passing into *Italy*, demanding, at the <sup>Maximi-</sup>  
same time, that he would get in Readiness <sup>lian noti-</sup>  
the Five Hundred Lances according to <sup>fies to</sup>  
Engagement; would give Orders for the <sup>Lewis his</sup>  
Restoration of the *Milanese* Exiles, and <sup>Resolu-</sup>  
desired also that the Payment of the Sums, <sup>passing</sup>  
which in a few Months would become <sup>into Italy,</sup>  
due, might be anticipated.

THE King, tho' he did not intend to comply with these Demands, yet he amused the Ambassadors with fair Speeches, and told them that he was ready to observe all that had been stipulated, at the appointed Times; but that, for cogent Reasons, it was not convenient for him to advance the Money before the Time limited was expired.

MAXIMILIAN, who was equally distrustful of the King of *France*, and passionately desirous of taking a Progress to *Rome*, principally for the sake of receiving the Imperial Crown, that he might afterwards get his Son elected King

*A. D.* 1506. King of the *Romans*, was taking, at the same time, other Methods to compass his Ends, and had sent into *Switzerland* to negotiate an Alliance with the *Helvetick* Body. But they, after several Consultations, returned for Answer, That they were determined to adhere strictly to the Alliance which they had contracted with *France*, that would not expire for Two Years. He had also demanded of the *Venetians* a Passage thro' their Territories : But they, relying on the fresh Assurances which they had received from *France*, satisfied themselves with returning general Answers, being jealous of his marching through their Dominions with a powerful Army.

Seeks an  
Alliance  
with the  
*Swiss.*

Demands  
a Passage  
thro' the  
*Venetian*  
Territo-  
ries.

Lewis, now determined to break his Confederacy with *Maximilian* and his Son, *Claude* to married his Daughter *Claude* to *Francis d' Angoulesme*, to whom, in case he died without male Issue, the Crown would devolve. This Match, however, had the Appearance of being made in condescension to the Prayers of his Subjects ; for he procured Addresses from all the Parliaments

*Lewis*  
marries his  
Daughter  
*Claude* to  
Prince d'  
*Angou-*  
*lesme.*

liaments and principal Cities in the King-  
dom, wherein they represented the Ne-  
cessity of such a Match, as it would  
greatly contribute to the Welfare of the  
Kingdom, especially as the Expectations  
of his Majesty's being blessed with male  
Issue every Day decreased. *Lewis* took  
care, at the same time, to dispatch Am-  
bassadors to *Philip*, to excuse this Step  
which he had been obliged to take in  
compliment of the Instances of the  
whole Body of his Subjects. He also  
sent Assistance to the Duke of *Guelder*,  
in order to divert *Maximilian* from his  
Journey into *Italy*. But that Prince had  
already put off his Expedition, on ac-  
count of the dangerous Sickness of *Ula-  
dislaus*, King of *Hungary*; for, being  
willing to assert his Father's, as well as  
his own Pretensions to that Kingdom, he  
would not be absent on such an Occasion,  
but hovered on the Borders of that Coun-  
try. The Grounds for his Claim were as  
follows.

MANY Years had passed since the  
Decease of *Uladislaus*, King of *Hungary*

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and

A. D.  
1506.

A. D.  
1506.

and *Bohemia*. He was Son to *Albert*, the Emperor *Frederick*'s Brother ; and dying without Issue, the *Hungarians* asserting his nearest a-Kin had no sort of Right to their Kingdom, assumed to themselves the Right of Election, and chose *Matthias*, out of Respect to the Merits of his Father : This *Matthias* rendered his Name famous for having, in frequent Expeditions, and with the Force of so small a Kingdom, carried War and Desolation far within the Borders of the most powerful Empire of the *Turks*. At his coming to the Crown, to avoid all Disputes and Differences with *Frederick*, he entered into Articles, by which he obliged himself not to marry, and that, after his Death, the Crown should descend to *Frederick*, or his Heirs male. *Matthias* did not observe this Convention ; he died, however, without Issue ; neither did *Frederick* obtain his Ends, for the *Hungarians* chose *Uladislaus*, King of *Poland*, for their Sovereign : Whereupon *Frederick* and *Maximilian* declared War against them ; but at last it was agreed, That whenever *Uladislaus* should die without

Issue.

Issue,

## THE WARS IN ITALY. 19

Issue, they would acknowledge *Maximilian* for their King; to the Performance <sup>A. D.</sup> ~~1506.~~ of which the Nobility obliged themselves by Oath. This was the Motive that induced *Maximilian*, on Advice of the Sicknes of *Uladislaus*, to approach the Frontiers of *Hungary*, and to lay aside, for the present, the Thoughts of his *Italian* Expedition.

WHILST the Ultramontane Princes were thus employed, the Pope, finding himself unable to undertake any thing of Moment, with his own Strength, against the *Venetians*; and observing with Regret so much Time of his Pontificate pass away without any memorable Action, requested the King of *France* to assist him in reducing the Cities of *Bologna* and *Perugia*, which were antient Appendages <sup>Bologna</sup> of the Church, and now in Subjection to <sup>and Perugia part</sup> *Tyrants*; the first to *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, <sup>of the</sup> and the other to *Gianpagolo Baglione*, <sup>Ecclesiastical</sup> whose Ancestors, in the Time of the <sup>State.</sup> Civil Wars, from private Citizens, first became Heads of Factions, and then by the Banishment or Destruction of the

A. D.  
1506.

Chiefs of their Adversaries, usurped an absolute Power ; some Measures, which they were under a Necessity of keeping with the Popes, was the only Restraint that withheld them from assuming the Title of lawful Princes. For the Pontiffs, in both these Cities, retained little more than the bare Name of Dominion ; and tho' they received a small Portion of the Revenues, and appointed Governors in the Name of the Church, yet the Power of the Magistracy, and the Management of public Affairs remaining in the Hands of the Tyrants, these Governors were a meer Cypher, and served more for Show than for any other Purpose.

THE City of *Perugia*, as being nearer *Rome*, or for some other Reason, had continued much longer at Times under the papal Jurisdiction ; but *Bologna*, in the troublesome Times of the Pontiffs, suffered various Revolutions. It had once the Form of a Republic ; then was governed by some powerful Citizen, or by some foreign Prince ; then again was in absolute Subjection to the Popes ; and lastly, in the

## THE WARS IN ITALY.

21

the Pontificate of *Nicolas V*, it returned A. D.  
1506. under the absolute Dominion of the holy See, but under certain Limitations, and with a Communication of Authority between the Popes and the *Bentivogli*; so that in process of Time the Name and Show of Sovereignty remained indeed in the Popes, but the Power and Authority were in the Hands of that Family. *Giovanni*, the present Ruler, by gradually depressing the powerful Families that had opposed the increasing Grandeur of his Ancestors and his own, had established an absolute Tyranny. But the Insolence and Prodigality of his four Sons rendered them insupportable; and he himself was become odious in his own Person, for want of Clemency and Good-nature. For imagining that the best Means to preserve his Authority was by the Sword, and Rigour, rather than by Gentleness and Mercy, he chose the most tyrannical Method of governing.

THE principal Motive that animated Ambition the Pope in his Design upon these two <sup>the Pope's</sup> principal Cities, was his Thirst after Glory; but <sup>Passion.</sup> cloaking his Ambition under the Name

B 3

of

## THE HISTORY OF

of Piety and Zeal, he pretended to have no other View than to restore to the Apostolic See whatever had been usurped from it. He was particularly bent on the Recovery of *Bologna*, from a private Pique he had conceived against *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, the Occasion of which was this: During his Persecution under Pope *Alexander*, he durst not trust himself at *Rome*, but retired to *Cento*, a Place in his Bishoprick in the *Bolognese*, from whence he was forced to fly, being alarmed one Night, on Notice that was given him, whether true or false is uncertain, that *Bentivoglio*, at the Instances of the Pope, had given Orders to put him under Confinement.

*Lewis  
closes  
with the  
Pope's  
Proposal.*

THE King of *France*, considering it was his Interest to have the Pope his Friend, was mightily pleased with his present Request; for he was sensible that his Holiness had been highly dissatisfied at the League he had made with the *Venetians*, which, he doubted, might induce him to enter upon some precipitate Measures. He was also not without

Suf-

Suspicions that the Plot formed by *Ottaviano Tregoso* to deprive him of the Sovereignty of *Genoa*, <sup>A. D.</sup> ~~1506.~~ was with the Pope's Privity and Consent. To all which it may be added, that the King thought he had Reason to believe that *Bentivoglio*, tho' under his Protection, was better affected to *Maximilian* than to himself. He was besides piqued against *Gianpagolo Baglione*, for refusing to join his Army on the *Garigliano*, after he had received Fourteen Thousand Ducats on that Account; and was also desirous of punishing *Pandolfo Petrucci*, when he sent Forces into *Tuscany*, for refusing to pay the Money for which he was engaged, and for his Attachment to the *Spaniards*.

On these Considerations, *Lewis* promised the Pope his immediate Assistance; and *Julius*, in requital, expedited the Briefs for conferring the Dignity of Cardinal on the Bishops of *Aus* and *Bayeux*, and gave his Majesty the Liberty to dispose of the Benefices in the Dutchy of *Milan*, in the same Manner as had been practised by *Francesco Sforza*. The Bishop of *Sisteron*

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was promoted to the Archbischoprick of *Aix*, in reward for the Pains he had taken in negotiating this Treaty, which cost him several Journeys to and fro between *Rome* and *Paris*, before he could bring it to Perfection. The Execution of it, however, was not so speedy as was expected, because the Pope had deferred, for some Months, the Prosecution of his intended Enterprize,

*Maximi-  
lian de-  
fies of the  
Venetians  
a Passage  
for his  
Army.*

*MAXIMILIAN*, who had declared War against the King of *Hungary* \*, and on that account laid aside his Design of passing into *Italy*, having now concluded a Peace, and settled the Succession of that Kingdom by a new Agreement, was returned into *Austria*, totally employed in making such Preparations, as plainly indicated his Intentions of resuming his former Project. He well knew how greatly it would conduce to the Accomplishment of his Ends to have the *Venetians* his Friends, For this Purpose he

sent

\* *Maximilian* declared War against the King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, because he had assisted the Count Palatine against him, and had newly entered into a Rebellion against the Empire.

sent Four Ambassadors to inform them of <sup>A. D.</sup>  
~~his~~ Intentions of going to *Rome* to be <sup>1506.</sup> ~~his~~  
crowned, and to demand a free Passage  
for his Army, offering to give any Security  
for their good Behaviour, and peaceable  
Demeanour, in passing through their  
States ; and at the same Time to intimate  
their Master's Desire of entering into an  
Alliance with the Republic, as such an  
Union would not only tend to their mu-  
tual Security, but to the Increase and  
Prosperity of both ; by which he meant  
to insinuate, that it would be for their  
common Interest to enter into a Confede-  
racy against the King of *France*.

A F T E R several Consultations, the <sup>which</sup>  
Ambassadors had this civil Answer returned <sup>they re-</sup>  
them, That the Republick was infinitely <sup>fuse to</sup>  
desirous of preserving a Harmony with <sup>grant.</sup>  
*Maximilian*, and coveted nothing more  
than to gratify him in any thing that did  
not manifestly tend to its Disadvantage, as  
would evidently be the Case should they  
comply with his present Demand. For  
the *Italians*, lately harassed by so many  
Calamities, would be terribly alarmed at  
the

D. A. the Apprehensions of *Maximilian's* entering  
1506. their Country with a great Army, and  
were all determined to take up Arms to  
put an immediate Stop to any fresh Broils  
even at first Appearance ; and that the  
King of *France* was of the same Opinion,  
in order to preserve the Dutchy of *Milan*.  
For this Reason his coming armed into  
*Italy* could produce nothing but a strong  
Opposition, which would prove of dan-  
gerous Consequence to their Republic ;  
since all the *Italian* Powers, in con-  
junction with the King of *France*, would  
fall upon them, in Resentment for grant-  
ing him the Passage he demanded, and  
for preferring their private Interest to the  
Good of the Public. They represented  
farther, that it would be more to his  
Honour, and carry a more friendly Aspect,  
if he came unarmed. And such a Con-  
duct would give entire Satisfaction to all  
People ; who, pleased to see the Power  
of the Empire exercised with such Mild-  
ness, would load him with their Blessings,  
and he would then be called the glorious  
Preserver of the Peace of *Italy* ; that by  
acting thus, he would imitate his Father  
and

A. D.  
1506.

and several of his Predecessors, who went to *Rome* unarmed to receive the Imperial Crown ; if he proceeded in that manner, the Senate promised all the Respect and good Offices he could require of them \*.

THESE warlike Preparations, and *Maximilian's* negotiating with the *Venetians*, determined the Pope to lose no more Time ; and being resolved to begin with *Bologna*, he demanded of the King of *France* the stipulated Supplies. *Lewis*, however, thought such Movements dangerous at this Juncture, as tending to involve all *Italy* in a War ; and therefore endeavoured, in the most friendly manner, to persuade the Pope to desist, at present, from such Attempts, which he had Reason to fear would disgust the *Venetians* ; since they had declared they would take up Arms in Defence of *Bologna*, if the Pope did not first make over to them all the Claim he might have to *Faenza*, in right of the Church. But *Julius* was rash, and impatient of Contradiction, nor

\* *Bembo* relates the same Answer, but says that *Maximilian* sent only Three Ambassadors.

*A. D.*

1506.

could any Difficulties deter him from a Pursuit, on which he had once resolved. Without more ado, then, he convoked a Consistory, and laid before the Cardinals the Justice of his Cause, setting forth how necessary it was to free from Tyranny two such eminent and important Members of the holy See, as *Bologna* and *Perugia*. He assured them he would go in Person on this Enterprize, and informed them of the Assistance he was to receive from the King of *France*, from the *Florentines*, and several other Princes in *Italy*; adding, that the just God, Lord of all, would not abandon the Care of his Church.

*Lervis  
disavows  
Julius's  
Proceed-  
ings.*

WHEN the News of these Proceedings arrived at the *French* Court, the King thought it so ridiculous for *Julius* to presume to mention his Name, and his Forces, before he had given them any Orders to march, that, laughing at Table, and alluding to the Pope's immoderate Love of Wine, he said, " Certainly his Holiness must have been in Liquor over Night, when he solemnly declared what

must

must oblige me either to fall out with him, *A. D.*  
1506.  
or, contrary to my Inclinations, coun-  
tenance his impolitic Undertaking.

THE Pope, however, without waiting for an Answer \*, set out from *Rome* at the Head of Four Hundred Men at Arms, *The Pope sets out for Bologna.* and sent forwards *Antonio del Monte* to *Bologna*, to give Notice of his Approach, and to command the Magistrates to prepare for his Reception in that Town, and Quarters for Five Hundred *French* Lances in their Territory. He made but slow Marches, intending to go no farther than *Perugia*, unless he should hear that the *French* Succours were in Motion.

GIANPAGOLo BAGLIONE thought himself lost; but by the Persuasions of the Duke of *Urbino*, and all his Friends, he, under their Guaranty, met the Pope at *Orvieto*, and submitting himself entirely to his Pleasure, was received into Favour, and agreed to accompany his Holiness

\* The Pope left *Rome* the 27th of *August*, accompanied by Twenty-four Cardinals, and Four Hundred Men at Arms. *Buon.*

*A. D.* <sup>1506.</sup> Holiness with One Hundred and Fifty Lances ; he likewise consented to put the Fortresses of the City, those of the Territory, and the Guard of the City into his Hands. When these Articles were signed, *Gianpagolo* delivered his Sons to the Duke of *Urbino*, to be kept as Hostages ; upon which the Pope made his Entry into *Perugia* without an armed Force ; so that *Baglione* had it in his Power to make him and all his Court Prisoners, which he would not have scrupled to have done, had he been Master of the same Resolution in an Affair that must have made so great Noise in the World, as he had perfidiously shewn in Matters of less Importance.

*Lewis re-  
fuses to  
send Affis-  
tance to  
the Pope.* DURING the Pope's Stay at *Perugia* he gave an Audience to the Cardinal of *Narbonne*, who was commissioned by the King of *France*, to advise his Holiness to defer his Undertaking against *Bologna* till a more proper Juncture offered, and to make his Majesty's Excuses, who, tho' desirous of sending him Affistance, could not, at present, think of lessening his

his Forces in the *Milanese*, on account <sup>A. D.</sup>  
of the Jealousies he entertained of the <sup>1506.</sup>  
Motions of the King of the *Romans*.  
*Julius* was greatly chagrined at such a  
Message, yet, without altering his Resolution,  
set about levying Men, and making  
all manner of warlike Preparations. Those,  
however, who considered the Difficulty  
of the Enterprize, and knew that the  
Pope was not of an implacable Temper,  
where he was trusted, were of Opinion,  
that if *Bentivoglio*, who by Ambassadors  
had already offered to send him all his  
Four Sons, could but have prevailed on  
himself to wait on his Holiness in Per-  
son, after the Example of *Gianpagolo*,  
he might have obtained tolerable Condi-  
tions. But whilst he was unresolved, or,  
as some will have it, was kept in Suspense  
by the Dissuasions of his Wife, he re-  
ceived Advice that the King of *France*  
had ordered *Chaumont* to march in Person  
with Five Hundred Lances to the Pope's  
Assistance. For tho' the King, during  
the Cardinal of *Rouen*'s Absence from  
Court, was inclined not to send them,  
yet that Prelate, on his Return, advised  
him

1. D. 1506. him to the contrary, and having made him sensible how highly provoking and injurious it must be to the Pope to deny him what he had not only promised, but even pressed him to accept of, he altered his Resolution. *Lewis* was now also the more encouraged to gratify the Pope, because *Maximilian*, according to Custom, began to grow cool in his Motions. The Pope, to make the King some Amends, was pleased to promise him, tho' not in Writing, but by bare Word of Mouth, that he would never fall out with the *Venetians* on account of the Towns they held in *Romagna*. To shew, however, that the Desire of recovering those Towns was fixed in his Mind, when he continued his Progress from *Perugia* to *Cesena*, he took the Way of the Mountains, avoiding the direct Road by the Plains, because it would have carried him thro' *Rimini*, which was detained from him by the *Venetians*. While he was at *Cesena* he issued out a public Admonition to *Bentivoglio*, ordering him, under Penalty of the most grievous Censures, with Pains spiritual and temporal, to depart out of

*Lewis*  
prevailed  
on to send  
Succours  
to the  
Pope.

*Bologna*;

*Bologna* ; which Censures were to extend <sup>A. D.</sup>  
to all his Adherents, and to those who ~~should~~  
should hold any Correspondence with  
him.

AT *Cesena* *Julius* received the News  
of *Chaumont*'s March with Six Hundred  
Lances and Three Thousand Foot, which  
were to be paid by the Apostolical Cham-  
ber. On this he was much revived, and <sup>Julius</sup>  
set forward without Delay ; but to avoid <sup>marches</sup>  
the Territory of *Faenza*, for the same  
Reason he had avoided *Rimini*, he took  
the Way of the Mountains, tho' difficult  
and incommodious, through those Towns  
beyond the *Apennines* that belong to the  
*Florentines*, and got to *Imola*, the Place  
appointed for the Rendezvous of his Army ;  
which, besides a good Body of Infantry,  
consisted of Four Hundred Men at Arms  
in his own Pay, One Hundred and Fifty  
brought by *Baglione*, One Hundred more  
sent by the *Florentines* under *Marco Anto-*  
*nio Colonna*, and One Hundred by the Duke  
of *Ferrara*, besides a Number of *Stra-*  
*diotti*, raised in the Kingdom of *Naples*,  
and Two Hundred light Horse brought  
VOL. IV. C by

A. D. by the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who was  
1506. declared Lieutenant-General of the Army.

ON the other hand, the *Bentivogli* had made extraordinary Preparations in *Bologna*, in hopes that if the *French* would not defend them, they would, at least, not act offensively against them. For on their applying to the King for Succour, as Persons under his Protection, they received in answer, That his Majesty could not allow himself to oppose the Pope's Undertaking by Force of Arms, but would take Care not to assist him with Men or warlike Stores; and they imagined they were strong enough to defend themselves against the Ecclesiastical Army. But they were deprived of all their Hopes at once by the Arrival of *Chaumont*, who, tho' he had given different Answers to their Deputies, while he was on his March, yet after his Arrival at *Castel Franco* in the *Bolognese*, which was the same Day that the Marquis of *Mantoua* took possession of *Castel San Piero*, he sent a Message to *Giovanni Bentivoglio* to acquaint him, that the King his Master, intending punctually

punctually to fulfil all Engagements <sup>A. D.</sup> ~~1506.~~ which he had contracted, by taking his Family into the Royal Protection, would take care they should enjoy their Estates, and if, within Three Days, he gave up the Government of *Bologna* into the Hands <sup>Chaumont</sup> of the Church, and received the Pope's <sup>insists on</sup> Commands with due Obedience, he might <sup>the Bentivogli's</sup> enjoy all that he possessed, and have Li- <sup>giving up</sup> berty, with his Children, to reside in <sup>the Go-</sup> vernments <sup>vernments</sup> *Bologna*. At this Message, *Bentivoglio* and his Sons, who had publickly boasted and threatened, that they would stand upon their Defence, were dejected and lost their Spirits, and, quite forgetful of the Reproaches they had cast on *Piero de' Medici* for quitting *Florence* without drawing Blood, humbly answered, That they were willing to refer their Cause to his Arbitration, begging that he would be their Mediator, for procuring them at least some tolerable Conditions.

CHAUMONT, who was advanced as <sup>Chaumont</sup> makes a far as the Bridge of *Reno*, Three Miles <sup>Treaty</sup> from *Bologna*, undertook to intercede <sup>with the Pope for</sup> with the Pope, and obtained "That <sup>the Bentivogli.</sup> Giovanni

*A. D. 1506.* Giovanni Bentivoglio, with his Wife *Ginevra Sforza*, and their Children, might safely retire from *Bologna*, and settle in any Part of the Dutchy of *Milan*: That they should have the Liberty to sell or carry with them all their Moveables, and enjoy the Income of all the Estates to which they had a just Title ". As soon as this Treaty was concluded, the *Bentivogli* quitted *Bologna*, and on their paying Twelve Thousand Ducats to *Chaumont*, he gave them an ample Pass, with a Paper in his own Hand Writing, in which he obliged himself to render effectual as much as was contained in the King's Protection, and promised them a safe Habitation in the State of *Milan*.

The *Bentivogli* quit *Bologna*.

As soon as the *Bentivogli* were departed the People of *Bologna* sent Deputies to the Pope, with a voluntary Surrender of their City, desiring only an Absolution from the Censures they had incurred, and that the *French* might not be permitted to enter the Town. But those Troops, unwilling to be tied by Articles, had advanced to the Walls, and were forcing an

an Entrance, but meeting with Resistance  
from the People, they took up their <sup>4. D.</sup>  
Lodgings between the Two Gates of *San*  
*Felice* and *Saragozza*, on the Canal formed  
by the *Reno*, which passing through *Bo-*  
*logna* is navigable towards *Ferrara*. The  
*French* were not apprised that the *Bolognese*  
had it in their Power, by opening a Sluice,  
at the Place where the Canal enters the  
City, to lay the Country under Water ;  
this being done, the *French* found them-  
selves obliged to dislodge, and leave be-  
hind great Part of their Carriages, and  
their Artillery, which had sunk deep in  
the Mud, and retired in great Disorder to  
the Bridge on the *Reno*, where they tarried  
till the Pope made his Entry into *Bologna*,  
which was performed on *St. Martin's*  
Day with great Pomp, and attended with  
all the pontifical Ceremonies observed on  
the like Occasions.

IN this manner the City of *Bologna*,  
to the unspeakable Happiness of those  
People, returned once more under the  
Dominion of the Church : A City, for  
the Number of its Inhabitants, for the

A. D. 1506. Fertility of its Territory, and for the Happiness of its Situation, justly ranked amongst the most celebrated Cities of *Italy*. Though the Pope, in settling the Government of *Bologna*, having constituted new Magistrates according to the Model of the old Establishment, had preserved, in many Cafes, some Show and Appearance of Liberty, yet, in effect, he brought all Things in Subjection to the Holy See. He was, however, wonderfully liberal in granting Exemptions, which was his Practice in all the other Cities, in which his Design was to make the People fond of the Government of the Church.

CHAUMONT, after this, returned immediately into the Dutchy of *Milan*, having first received a Present from the Pope of Three Thousand Ducats for himself, and Ten Thousand for the Troops under his Command; and also a Bull, confirming the Promise before made, of advancing the Bishop of *Albi* his Brother to the Purple. But as *Julius* was fully bent on attacking the *Venetians*, he refused,

fused, for the present, to declare Cardinals the Bishops of *Aus* and *Bayeux*, <sup>A. D.  
1506.</sup> tho' he was much pressed to it, and had granted his Briefs for that Purpose; by delaying their Promotion, he designed to quicken the King and the Cardinal of *Rouen*, and make them more ready to send him Supplies.

THE King of *Aragon*, about this time, began his Voyage for *Italy*. Before he embarked at *Barcelona*, he received an Express from the Great Captain with Professions of his Loyalty, and Readiness to receive his Majesty, and to pay him Homage; on which the King not only confirmed him in the Dukedom of *St. Angelo*, which had been granted him by *Federigo*, but also in the Possession of all the Estates he had acquired in the Kingdom of *Naples*, to the yearly Value of above Twenty Thousand Ducats, and, besides continuing him in the Post of Great Constable of that Kingdom, gave him under his Hand a Promise of the Grandmastership of *St. Jago*.

## THE HISTORY OF

THE King, with his Queen, now embarked with more Satisfaction. Great Honours were paid them, by order of the King of *France*, in all the Ports of *Provence*; and at *Genoa*, where they landed, they were received with all the Professions of Esteem and Respect. Here *Ferdinando* was met by the Great Captain, to the Surprize of all the World; for it was the Opinion, not only of the Vulgar, but even of the Pope, that *Gonsalvo*, conscious of his former Disobedience, and of the Suspicions, which the King, perhaps not without Reason, had entertained against him, would not have ventured to appear in his Presence, but would have privately retired into *Spain*. \*

AFTER leaving *Genoa*, the King did not care to venture far out at Sea with his light Gallies, but kept near the Shore, and was detained by contrary Winds for several Days in *Portofino*, where he received the News of the Death of King *Philip*,

\* *Giovio* says that the Great Captain met his Majesty after he had passed Cape *Miseno*.

*Philip*, his Son-in-law; a remarkable Instance of the Instability of Fortune, for he was a Prince of a very sound and robust Constitution, in the Flower of his Age, and at the Height of Felicity, yet, after a few Days Illness of a violent Fever in the City of *Burgos*, he was taken off. Many were of Opinion, that the Catholic King would instantly sail to *Barcelona*, in order to resume the Government of *Castile*; but he prosecuted his first intended Voyage, and landed at *Gaeta* on the same Day that the Pope, in his Way to *Bologna*, made his Entrance into *Imola*. From *Gaeta* he was conducted to *Naples*, where the People, who were accustomed to the Sight of *Aragonian* Kings, received him with the greatest Magnificence and Honours, their Desires and Expectations being raised to the greatest Height; every one flattering himself, that through the Assistance of a King so glorious for the Number of Victories he had obtained over *Turks* as well as Christians, so venerable for his Prudence, for which he was renowned all the World over, a Prince who had governed his Kingdoms with so much Justice and

A. D.  
1506.

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## THE WARS IN ITALY.

41

A. D.  
1506.

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*A. D.* and Tranquillity, the Kingdom of *Naples*,  
*1506.* after so many Troubles and Oppressions, would be reduced to a peaceable and happy State, and that he would procure the Restoration of those Maritime Towns, that, to the great Uneasiness of the whole Kingdom, were detained by the *Venetians*.

THERE appeared soon in *Naples* a Concourse of Ambassadors from all Parts of *Italy*, not only to congratulate and pay their Respects to so great a Prince, but also to consult him on Matters of State, each persuading himself, that with his Prudence and Authority, a Multitude of Disputes would be reduced into a proper Form and Order, and left to his Decision. The Pope, tho' dissatisfied with *Ferdinando* for not sending Ambassadors to pay him Homage, according to Custom, endeavoured to incense him against the *Venetians*, in hopes that his Desire of recovering the Ports they possessed in the Kingdom of *Naples*, might incline him to contribute to their Depression. The *Venetians* themselves were extremely ~~ashamed~~ ~~of~~ ~~such~~ ~~an~~ ~~ungrateful~~ ~~and~~ ~~folly~~ ~~hus~~

Solicitous to have him for their Friend. *A. D.*  
The *Florentines*, and the other States of *Tuscany* sent to treat with him, but each  
with different Views, concerning the  
Affairs of *Pisa*.

1506.

THE *Pisans* were less molested this Year than usual, for the *Florentines* let them get in their Harvest undisturbed, either because they were tired with the Expence, or because they were taught, by the Experience of former Years, that such an Attempt would be ineffectual, since they knew that the *Genoese* and *Lucchesi* had agreed together to contribute a certain Sum towards the Support of that City for a Twelvemonth. The first Promoter of that Agreement was *Pandolfo Petrucci*, who engaged that the *Senese* should pay their Proportion. But, on the other hand, with his usual Double-dealing, he revealed the Particulars of this Negotiation to the *Florentines*, and promising to separate himself from the rest, obtained of them a Prolongation of the Truce, which was not yet expired, with the *Senese* for Three Years; but with an  
expres

A. D.  
1506.

express Condition, that neither *Pandolfo* nor the *Senese* should in any manner assist the *Pisans*. This served to excuse him from laying out any Money for them, tho' in other Matters he was never wanting to assist them with his Advice and Encouragement to the utmost of his Power.

Conspiracy  
against  
the Duke  
of Ferrara.

THE barbarous and inhuman Fact committed the End of the last Year at *Ferrara*, was now succeeded by another equally horrid. *Ferdinando*, Brother of Duke *Alfonso*, and *Giulia*, who, at the Instigation of the Cardinal, had his Eyes turned out of their Places, but by the immediate and careful Attendance of skilful Surgeons, had them replaced without losing his Sight, entered into a Plot against the Life of the Duke. *Ferdinando*, being next in the Succession, aimed at getting possession of the Dutchy, and *Giulio* imagined that *Alfonso* had not sufficiently resented the Injury done him, and that he had no other Means to revenge himself of the Cardinal. Count *Albertino Boschetto*, a Nobleman of *Monden*,

2. D.  
1506.

dena, was an Accomplice in the Conspiracy, and as they had corrupted some mean Fellows, who constantly attended *Alfonso* in order to minister to his Pleasures, they had many a fair Opportunity of dispatching him with Ease. But, thro' fatal Timidity, they always let slip the Occasion, and, as it almost constantly happens when the Execution of a Conspiracy is delayed, the Plot came to light, and *Ferdinando* and the other Conspirators were imprisoned. *Giulio*, at the Discovery, fled to *Mantua* to his Sister, from whence he was, by Order of the Marquis, sent Prisoner to *Alfonso*, who first passed his Word that his Life should be saved. Count *Albertino* and the other Criminals were quartered, and the Brothers condemned to perpetual Imprisonment in the new Castle of *Ferrara*. \*

We ought not to pass over in Silence the Industry and Resolution of *Valentino*, who, about this Time, found Means to

\* *Giulio* continued in Prison all the Time of *Alfonso* and of *Ercole IV*, but was released by *Alfonso II*, and lived to the Year 1560.

1. D. <sup>1506.</sup> slide down by a Rope from the Castle of *Medina del Campo*, and fled into the Kingdom of *Navarra*, to King *John*, his Wife's Brother; where, that we may have no further Occasion to mention him, he remained some Years in a mean Condition, because the King of *France* had before confiscated the Dutchy of *Valentinois*, and stopt his Pension of Twenty Thousand Franks, which he had assigned him in lieu of the Revenue of that Dutchy, and would not suffer him to come into *France*, that he might not disoblige the King of *Aragon*. At last, attending the Troops of the King of *Navarra* at the Siege of *Viana*, an obscure Castle in that Kingdom, in a Skirmish with the Enemy, who broke out of an Ambush, he was killed by a Blow from a Genneteer.

*Valentino  
killed.*

*Genoa re-  
volts from  
the French* At the End of this Year, that the new one might not begin without some Materials for new Wars, the *Genoese* revolted from their Obedience to the King of *France*, to which they were prompted by none but themselves, nor had their Desire

Desire of Rebellion any other Foundation  
than what took its Rise from their civil  
Broils, which transported them much  
beyond what they had at first determined.

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GENOA is a City built in a proper <sup>Factions</sup> Situation for the Command of the Sea, in *Genoa*. if so vast a Conveniency were not rendered useless by the contagious Influence of civil Discord. It is not, like many other Cities of *Italy*, subject only to one Division, but is divided into several Parties; for there are yet some Reliques of the old Contentions between the *Guelfs* and the *Ghibellines*. The Discord between the Nobles and Commonalty, under which many Cities in *Italy*, and particularly in *Tuscany*, have severely suffered, is at its Height in *Genoa*. For the common People, being by no means willing to support the Pride of the Nobles, have restrained their Power by many very severe and rigorous Laws; among the rest is one that, leaving them a proportionable Share in almost all other Magistracies and Honours, exclude them particularly from the Dignity of Doge. That Office, which

is

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is supreme above all others, is granted to the Person elected for Life; but, thro' the Inconstancy of the Citizens, not one, perhaps, or very few, at least, have been permitted to enjoy that Place of Honour till Death. <sup>ni</sup> But there is another Division, no less powerful, between the *Adorni* and *Fregosi*, who, from popular Families, became *Cappellacci* (so the Genoese call those who have raised themselves to a Pitch of Grandeur) and contend together for the Dignity of Doge, which has for many Years continued almost without Interruption in one or other of the Two Families \*. For the Nobles of the *Guelph* and *Ghibelline* Factions, being prohibited by the Laws from obtaining that high Post for themselves, have endeavoured to get it conferred on Commons of their own Party; and the *Ghibellines* favouring the *Adorni*, and the *Guelph* the *Fregosi*, they have, in process of Time, made these Two Houses more illustrious and more powerful than

\* These Families were called *Cappellacci*, but the Vulgar and Mechanics, who raised this Commotion, were called *Cappette*, because they were poor, and wore a shabby Cap. Bishop of Nebbio.

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that Two, whose Name and Authority they formerly used to follow; and these Divisions caused such Confusion, that frequently those who sided together against an opposite Party, fell into various Parties among themselves; and, on the contrary, united in some Points with their own Party, and in others with the opposite. But in the Beginning of this Year great Disputes arose between the Nobles and the Commonalty, on occasion of the Insolence of some of the Nobles; and generally meeting with evil disposed Minds on both Sides, private Contentions were soon converted into public Discord, which is the more easy to be kindled in a City, such as *Genoa* was at that time, vastly abounding in Riches. The Feuds and Animosities grew to such a Height, that the Populace made a Riot, and ran to Arms; killed one of the Family of *Doria*, <sup>Insur-</sup> <sup>rection in</sup> that City, and wounded some of the Nobles; and obtained, more by Violence than by the Free Will of the Citizens, that in the public Councils, at which very few of the Nobility were present, it should be enacted the next Day, that the Places of

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Trust, which before were equally divided between the Nobles and Commonalty, should, for the future, be conferred in the Proportion of two Thirds on the Commons, and the remaining Third on the Nobles. To this Resolution *Roccalbertino*, who was appointed to take the Charge of the City in the Absence of *Philip de Ravestein*, Governor for the King, gave his Consent, for fear of greater Mischiefs in case of Refusal. The People, however, were not quieted with this Concession, but in a few Days broke out into fresh Disorders, and plundered the Houses of the Noblemen, for which Reason the greatest Part of the Nobility, not thinking themselves secure in their own Country, withdrew from *Genoa*. On Advice of these Innovations, the Governor speedily returned from *France* to *Genoa*, with One Hundred and Fifty Horse and Seven Hundred Foot; but found himself unable, either by Authority, or by Persuasions, oreven by Force, to rectify, in any measure, the Disorders; on the contrary, he was often obliged to comply with the Inclinations of the People, as when he ordered

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ordered another Party of Troops that was on their Way to join him, to march back.

DO. A.  
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From these Beginnings the Multitude continually grew more and more insolent, and the ruling Part, as it usually happens in tumultuous Cities, had, contrary to the Will of many of the better sort of the popular Party, fallen almost entirely into the Hands of the Dregs of the common People. They proceeded in the Height of their Madness to erect of themselves a new Magistracy of Eight Commons, who were invested with a very extensive Authority, and, that the Name might make them more outrageous, were called the Tribunes of the People. This done, they sent Troops to take possession of *Spetie*, and other Towns in the Eastern *Riviera*, of which *Gian Luigi dal Fiesco* had been appointed Governor by the King of *France* \*.

D 2 COM-

\* This Magistracy, or Tribunes of the Commons, as they called themselves, sent for *Tarlatino* from *Pisa*, and gave him the Command of Two Thousand Men, Bishop of *Nettbo*.

A. D. 1506.

COMPLAINTS of these Insolences were made to the King by *Gian Luigi* in the Name of the whole Nobility, and also for his own proper Interest; representing to his Majesty the manifest Danger of losing the Dominion of *Genoa*, since the Multitude was become so audacious that, besides all other Mischiefs, they had proceeded, in direct Opposition to the royal Authority, to seize on the Towns of the *Riviera*; that it was easy, by speedily applying proper Remedies, to repress so great a Madness, while there was, as yet, no Fewel to maintain the Flame, nor present Expectation of Supplies from any Quarter: But, by delaying to provide against its Increase, the Evil would every Day take deeper Root. For *Genoa* was a Place of such Importance both by Sea and Land, as easily to invite some Potentate or other to augment a Flame so likely to be destructive to his Majesty's State; and that the common People being conscious to themselves, that what at first had been perhaps only Sedition, had been since ripened into downright Rebellion, would

would join with any Power from whom <sup>A. D.</sup>  
they could find Hopes of Protection. <sup>1506.</sup>

ON the other side, the Ambassadors <sup>Commons</sup> from the People of *Genoa* did their best <sup>plead their</sup> to justify their Cause. <sup>Cause.</sup> They represented to his Majesty, that the People had no other Provocation but the Pride of the Nobles, who, not content with the Honours they were intitled to by their Quality, expected to be reverenced as Sovereigns ; that the People had long submitted to their Insolences, but when they came to be at last injured, not only in their Estates, but in their Persons, they could no longer contain themselves ; that they had not, however, taken any further Steps than what were absolutely necessary for the Security of their Liberty ; for whilst the Nobles had an equal Share in Offices, the People were disabled, by means of the Magistrates and Courts of Justice, to resist their Tyranny ; that while *Gian Luigi* kept possession of the Towns of the *Riviera*, without communicating with which *Genoa* was in a manner besieged, it was not safe for the People to

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have any Commerce or Intercourse with  
those Towns. The People had been al-  
ways devoted and faithful to his royal Ma-  
jesty, and all the Innovations in *Genoa*  
had ever proceeded more from the No-  
bless than from the People; that they sup-  
plicated his Majesty to pardon all those  
Offences and Misdemeanours which, con-  
trary to universal Approbation, had, in  
the Ardour of Contention, been com-  
mitted by any particular Persons; that he  
would vouchsafe to confirm the Laws  
which they had made concerning the  
Distribution of Offices, and to order that  
the Governors of the Towns in the *Riviera*  
might be appointed by the Republic.  
Thus would the Nobles enjoy their Rights  
and Dignities with the Honours due to  
them, and the Commons live in the  
peaceable Enjoyment of their Liberties  
with all convenient Security; by which  
Means none would suffer any Injury, but  
all, finding themselves reduced, by Virtue  
of his Authority, into such a happy State  
of Tranquility, would forever adore his  
royal Clemency, Goodness and Justice.

THE

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THE King was much concerned at these tumultuous Disorders, either because he was apprehensive of the Licentiousness of the Multitude, or because of the general Affection of the French even to the Name of Nobleman; and therefore he was disposed to punish the Authors of these Insolences, and to reduce all things to their antient State. But fearing that, if he used rough Means, the Genoese would have recourse to *Cesar*, of whom, his Son *Philip* being then living, he stood much in Awe, for this Reason he determined to proceed in a gentle Manner, and pardoned all Offences, confirmed the new Law concerning Offices, insisting only on resuming into his Hands the Towns the People had seized in the *Riviera*. And, this more easily to dispose them to be satisfied with these Concessions, he deputed to Genoa Doctor *Michele Riccio*, a Neapolitan Exile, to exhort the Populace to make use of this Opportunity of shewing themselves worthy of the royal Favour, and not, by persevering in their Contumacy and Transgressions, lay the King under a

King deals  
gently  
with the  
Populace.

D 4 Ne.

A. D. 1506. Necessity of proceeding against them with the Severity of absolute Command. T

A s in Minds blinded by immoderate Desires, Rashness leaves Prudence no Share in the Management of Affairs, so in the Case before us, the common People and their Tribunes, (tho' the lawful Magistrates were of contrary Sentiments) not only refused the kind Offers of the King, by keeping possession of the Towns they had seized, but proceeded continually to worse Provocations, and took a Resolution to make themselves Masters of Monaco, and Castles in the Possession of Luciano Grimaldi. What incited them to this Undertaking, was either the Malice they abore to all Nobles in general; or because by its commodious Situation, as a Sea-port, it was a Place of Importance to the Affairs of Genoa; or the true Motive might be merely private Resentment, as it is well known that he who is in possession of that Town, being tempted by the Conveniency of its Situation, can hardly abstain from exercising himself in Piracy \*; or, in the last Place, By which Grimaldi might have given Offence to many.

because *Monaco*, as they said, was within the Jurisdiction of the Republic. A good Body of Forces, therefore, was ordered, the Governor in vain protesting against it, to besiege the Place both by Land and Sea. *Genoese* *besiege* *Monaco*. The Governor then, *Philip de Ravenstein*, finding that his Stay in *Genoa* could be of no Service, and might possibly, on account of Accidents that were like to happen, prove dangerous, left that City, appointing *Roccalbertino* to supply his Place.

The King had lost all Hopes of reducing Matters into better Order, and not thinking it consistent with his Dignity or Safety to suffer these People to remain in their present Situation, and apprehending that the Danger would be greater, if they were left to run on to greater Extravagances, he began to make Preparations both by Sea and Land for reducing them to his Obedience. This Resolution was the Cause of interrupting the Treaty that was in Negotiation between his Majesty and the Pope against the *Venetians*, which *Lewis* greatly desired to have concluded, especially now that by the Death of King *Philip*,

4. D. Philip, he was freed from the Umbrage  
1506. he had taken at the Preparations of the  
Emperor. But the Pope was more ar-  
dently desirous to finish this Treaty,  
because he was highly provoked against  
the *Venetians*, for keeping in their Possession  
the Towns of *Romagna*, and for presuming  
to confer the vacant Bishopricks in their  
Dominions, without any Regard to the  
Apostolic See, and for interfering in many  
things appertaining to the Ecclesiastical  
Jurisdiction. Hence being determined to  
cultivate the Friendship of the King of  
*France*, besides declaring Cardinals the  
Bishops of *Bayeux* and *Aus*, a Favour so  
long pressed for by the King, he sollicited  
his Majesty to pass into *Italy*, and to come  
to an Interview with him. To this the King  
had consented; but when the Pope was  
certified of *Lewis's* Resolution to take up  
Arms in favour of the *Genoese* Nobility  
against the People, he was sadly mortified,  
and altered his Resolution, because he was  
of old by Nature averse to Noblemen, and  
favourable to the common People. He in-  
terceded, therefore, with the King, that he  
would content himself with reducing *Genoa*  
to

to his Obedience, without making any Alterations in the popular Government of that City, and he exhorted him with great Earnestness to abstain from Arms, offering many Reasons, and especially the Danger of raising, by this unseasonable Step, a new Combustion in *Italy*, which might disturb the Preparations for the War designed against the *Venetians*. But finding that the King was not convinced by these Reasons, in a Transport of Anger or Grief, or his old Jealousies of the ambitious Desires of the Cardinal of *Amboise*, either by his own Impulse, or by the subtle Artifices of others, reviving in his Mind, he was seized with a Suspicion that the King would detain him if they should meet together in the same Place; or perhaps both of these Causes concurring, all on a sudden he declared, in the Beginning of the Year 1507, contrary to Expectation, his Intention of returning to *Rome*; for which he gave no other Reason, but that the Air of *Bologna* was prejudicial to his Health, and that by his Absence from *Rome* his Finances were considerably disordered.

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THIS

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THIS Resolution of his Holiness was very surprising to all, and especially to the King, that without any Reason he should leave unfinished a Negotiation which he had desired, and decline an Interview, which he himself had sollicited. His Majesty being much disturbed at this Step of the Pope, he left no Means untried which might induce him to alter his Resolution; but his Labour was not only vain, but hurtful; for the Pontiff took occasion, from the Instances which the King made him, to be more suspicious, and was the more confirmed in his Resolution, to which pertinaciously adhering, he set out from *Bologna* at the End of *February*, not being able to dissemble the Anger which he had conceived against the King. Before he left the City, he laid the first Stone of the Fortress, which he, with unlucky Auspices, ordered to be erected near the Gate of *Galera*, in the same Place where, at another time, with the same Auspices, there had been one built by *Filippo Maria Visconti* of *Milan*. His new Displeasure with the King of *France* had

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had somewhat mitigated his old Spleen <sup>A. D.</sup> ~~1507~~ against the *Venetians*, and therefore, not chusing to incommod himself by going out of the Way, he took the direct Road, and passed through the City of *Faenza*. New Disputes now arose between the Pope and the King every Day ; for his Holiness made Instances for the Expulsion of the *Bentivogli* from the State of *Milan*, tho' it was with his Consent that they had been allowed to inhabit there, and refused to restore the Prothonotary, Son of *Giovanni*, to the Possession of his Churches, as he had promised in his Agreement ; so much did a Spirit of Contention prevail in him against Reason !

THE King took no care to mollify this Disposition of the Pope by soothing Arts and dextrous Management, but quite provoked at such a Fickleness of Temper, and suspecting, as the Truth was, that his Holiness secretly encouraged the People of *Genoa*, he could not abstain from openly threatening him, and upbraiding him, in reproachful Terms, with his low Birth. For it was well known that the Pope

A. D. 1507. Pope was of very mean Extraction, and educated many Years in a very low Station of Life. The King was now, therefore, the more confirmed in his first Resolution concerning the Affairs of *Genoa*, and made Preparations with the utmost Diligence, for leading an Army in Person against that City ; for he had learned, by Experience of what had happened in the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Difference between conducting a War in proper Person, and entrusting the same to the Management of Generals.

*Pisans*  
assist the  
*Genoese*.

THE *Genoese* were not at all alarmed at these Preparations, being intent on getting possession of *Monaco*, on which Enterprize they employed abundance of Shipping, and Six Thousand Men, common People and Peasants, levied in Haste, and put under the Command of *Tarlatino*, General of the *Pisans*, who, with *Piero Gumbucorta*, and some other Soldiers, had been sent by that People to the Assistance of the *Genoese*.

THE Disorders still increasing in  
*Genoa*,

*Genoa*, the Governor of the *Castelletto*,  
who had hitherto remained very quiet,  
and had not been disturbed by the People,  
either by the King's Commandment, or  
with a Desire of Plunder, broke out all  
on a sudden, and seized and committed  
to Prison many of the People, and began  
to play his Cannon upon the Port and  
the City; which so terrified *Roccalbertino*  
that he left the Place, and the *French* that  
guarded the Town-house retired into the  
*Castelletto*. Soon after the Siege of *Mona-*  
*co*, which had lasted several Months, was  
raised; for the Besiegers having advice of  
the Approach of *Alegre*, with the chief  
of their Nobles, and Three Thousand  
Foot they had levied, and of some Auxi-  
liaries from the Duke of *Savoy*, with a  
Design to relieve the Place, had not the  
Courage to wait their Arrival, but de-  
camped in all Haste, spreading a Report  
that the King's Forces were continually  
pouring into *Lombardy*, and preparing to  
fall upon them. This News, which  
should have put the Ringleaders upon  
taking Measures suitable to so urgent an  
Occasion, served only to encreas: their  
Rage.

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Siege of  
*Monaco*  
raised.

*A. D.* <sup>1507.</sup> Rage. The Multitude, which had hi-  
therto dissembled their Rebellion in Words,  
and justified their Actions by crying up,  
on all Occasions, the Name of the King  
of *France*, whose Ensigns were still to be  
seen in the public Places, now created for  
*Genoese* <sup>create a</sup> *new Doge* their Doge, one *Pagolo di Nove*, a Silk-  
Dyer, of the lowest of the Commonalty ;  
in which Transaction they discovered  
manifest Signs of a Rebellion ; for the  
Creation of this Doge was accompanied  
with a Declaration, that the City of  
*Genoa* was not subject to any Potentate  
whomsoever.

THESE audacious Proceedings of the  
Populace highly provoked the King, and  
the Nobility having signified to his Ma-  
jesty, that his Ensigns were removed in  
order to give Place to those of *Cæsar*, he  
ordered his Preparations to be increased ;  
and he was the more incensed, because  
*Maximilian*, at the Sollicitations of the  
*Genoese*, and perhaps secretly of the  
Pope, had advised him to undertake no-  
thing against *Genoa*, as being an Imperial  
City, offering his Mediation with the  
People,

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People, in order to induce them to comply with such Terms as Justice required. The new Doge and the Tribunes were not a little emboldened by their prosperous Success in the Eastern *Riviera*. For *Girolamo*, the Son of *Gian Luigi dal Fiesco*, at the Head of Two Thousand Foot, and some Horse, having recovered *Rapalle*, and marched by Night to surprize *Recco*, was encountered by some Troops that were marching from *Genoa* to succour the Place, and, without coming to a formal Engagement, put to a disorderly Flight; which being discerned by *Orlandino*, Nephew of *Gian Luigi*, who had made a Descent at *Recco* with another Body of Forces, he in like manner betook himself to Flight. Hence the Doge and the Tribunes growing more insolent, attacked *Castellaccio*, an old Fortress situated in the Mountains above *Genoa*, raised by the Lords of *Milan* while they had the Dominion of that City, and served to protect the Troops in their Access to *Genoa*, when those Lords sent any from *Lombardy* to relieve the *Castelletto*. This Place having but a small Garrison, was easily

A. D. 1507. easily taken, for the few *French* that were in it surrendered on Condition of saving their Lives and Effects. But the Besiegers immediately broke their Word, and returned to *Genoa* with great Alacrity, boasting of their Exploit, and shewing their bloody Hands. At the same time they began to batter the *Castelletto*, and the Church of *San Francesco* contiguous to it.

BUT the King of *France* was by this time passed into *Italy*, and his Troops were continually assembling from all Parts in order to form the Siege of *Genoa* as soon as possible. The *Genoese* now found themselves abandoned of all Succours; for the Catholic King, tho' desirous of their Success, would not fall out with the King of *France*, but even furnished him with Four light Gallies. The Pope durst not shew his Mind, but by administering Hopes and Admonitions in private; for he had no Troops but Three Hundred foreign Foot, and no experienced Officers, and was in want of military Stores. The *Genoese*, however, perfisted in

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in their Obstinacy, confiding in the narrow Passes, and in the Difficulties and Ruggedness of their Country, by which they imagined it was easy for them to prevent the Approach of an Enemy to *Genoa*. Under the Influence of this vain Confidence, they despised the Admonitions of many of their Friends, in particular of the Cardinal of *Finale*, who attended the King, and exhorted them, by frequent Messages and Letters, to submit themselves to his Majesty's Will, giving them Hopes of readily obtaining a Pardon, and tolerable Conditions. But the French Army being now on its March by the Way of *Borgo de' Fornari* and *Serravalle*, the Vanity of their Designs began to discover itself. No Councils were held, nor Plans drawn, as there should have been, by Men experienced in War; nothing was heard but Clamours and vain Boastings of a vile and ignorant Multitude. And as a Proof that the Courage of such Men, when Danger is present, is no way correspondent to what they had rashly promised when Fear was far off, Six Hundred of their Infantry, posted to guard

Cowar-  
dice of the  
*Genoese.*

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the first Passes, at the Approach of the Enemy basely deserted their Post, and betook themselves to Flight. Their cowardly Example was followed by the rest, who lost all Courage, and, abandoning the Passes which they were appointed to defend, retired into *Genoa* \*. The *French* Army finding the Passes free and open, continued their March, without Opposition, over the Chain of Mountains, and descended into the Valley of *Pozzvera*, Seven Miles distant from *Genoa*, to the great Astonishment of the *Genoese*, who had foolishly persuaded themselves, that the Troops durst not be so fool-hardy as to take up their Quarters in a Valley, surrounded by rugged Mountains, and in the midst of an Enemy's Country.

AT this time the King's Fleet, consisting of Eight light Gallies, Eight Galeons, with a great Number of Brigantines, and other small Vessels, appeared before *Genoa*, and

\* The Commander of these Foot, the Bishop of *Nebbio* says, was *Jacopo Corso*, Lieutenant to *Tarlatino*, a Man expert enough in War, but not feared, who began to skirmish with the *French*, but the *Genoese* basely fled, and abandoned the foreign Soldiers, who did their Duty.

and sailed towards *Porto Venere* and *Spetie*,  
in Chace of the Genoese Fleet of Seven  
Gallies and Six Barks, which not venturing  
to remain in the Port of *Genoa*, was re-  
tired to those Places. The Army moved  
from the Valley of *Pozzevera* to *Rivarolo*,  
Two Miles from *Genoa*, and posted itself  
near the Church of *San Piero della Rena*  
by the Sea-side, meeting in their March,  
at small Distances, several Parties of  
Genoese Foot, who shewed no more Reso-  
lution than the rest, but retired at their  
Approach. The same Day arrived in the French  
Army the King in Person, and took up King ar-  
rives in  
his Quarters in the Abbey of *Boschetto* over his Army.  
against the Suburb of *Rivarolo*. His  
Majesty was attended by a great Part of  
the Nobility of *France*, a vast Number  
of Noblemen of the State of *Milan*, and  
the Marquis of *Mantoua*, whom his Ma-  
jesty had a few Days before declared Head  
of the Order of *Saint Michele*, and pre-  
sented him with the Standard, which had  
never been in the Possession of any Person  
since the Death of *Lewis XI*. There  
were in the French Army One Thousand  
Eight Hundred light Horse, Six Thousand  
Swiss,

A. D. 1507. *Swiss*, and Six Thousand Foot of other Nations; but the Lances were but Eight Hundred, for the King, considering the Roughness of the Country, had left the rest in *Lombardy*.

THE Genoese, for the Defence of the Road that goes over the Hills to *Castellaccio*, and from thence to *Genoa*, by a shorter Way than what leads along the Strand of *San Piero della Rena*, had erected a Redoubt on the Top of a Mountain called *Promontorio*, between the Suburb of *Rivarolo* and *San Piero della Rena*, from which Redoubt the Way leads along the Ridge of a Hill to *Castellaccio*. To this Redoubt the French directed their March the same Day they encamped at *Rivarolo*. On the other side, there marched out of *Genoa* Eight Thousand Foot, commanded by *Jacopo Corso*, Lieutenant to *Tarlatino*, for *Tarlatino* himself, after raising the Siege of *Monaco*, had taken up his Quarters, with the *Pisan* Soldiers, in *Ventimiglia*; and when they were recalled by the Genoese, who sent the Ship of *Demetrio Giustiniano* to bring them off, they could

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not return to *Genoa* by Land, because they would have been intercepted by the *French*,

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nor by Sea, because of contrary Winds.

As soon as the *French* began to ascend the Mountain, they discovered the *Genoese* Foot, who had ascended by the Hill that leads to the Redoubt, and afterwards the greater Part of them descending, had made a Stand upon a rocky Eminence, halfway up the Hill. Mons. *Chaumont* detached a good Body of Foot, with a Number of Gentlemen, to attack them. The *Genoese* by their great Superiority in Number, and the Advantage of Situation, made a stout Defence, with considerable Loss to the *French*, who, despising their Enemies, as consisting mostly of raw and undisciplined Tradesmen and Peasants, confidently advanced, not considering the Strength of the Place, <sup>to</sup> attack them. Mons. *Palisse* was wounded, tho' not dangerously, in the Throat. But *Chaumont* resolving to dislodge the Enemy from their Post, ordered Two Pieces of Cannon to be brought up the Hill, which taking them in Flank, constrained <sup>Genoese</sup> <sub>routed.</sub> them to retire towards the Mountain

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where

A. D. 1507. where the rest of their Troops were posted. The French advancing after them in good Order, those who guarded the Redoubt, tho' from the Advantage of its Situation, and the Works that had been made, they might safely wait till the Cannon were planted against it, fearing the French should post part of their Forces so as to cut off the Communication between them and their Troops upon the Mountain, most shamefully abandoned it. Hence those who were retiring from the Eminence towards the Redoubt seeing their Passage intercepted, fled out of the beaten Road, and thro' Quagmires and over rough Precipices, made their Way into Genoa, losing about Three Hundred Men in their Retreat.

Genoese  
sue for  
Pardon.

This ill Success filled the whole City with inexpressible Terror; and the Management of public Affairs being in the Hands of the lowest of the Commonalty, and nothing of Importance directed by military Counsel or civil Prudence, they deputed Two Ambassadors to the Army, in order to treat of surrendering themselves upon reasonable Terms. These Ambassadors were

were not admitted into the King's Presence, but had an Audience of the Cardinal of *Rouen*, who answered them, that the King had resolved not to accept them on any other Conditions than an absolute Surrender of themselves, and all that belonged to them, to his Will and Pleasure. But while the Treaty was in Agitation, a Party of the common People, which had refused to come into any Agreement, marched out of *Genoa* in a tumultuous Manner, and were discovered on the Risings and Hills, that leads from *Castellaceio* to the Redoubt, which they had approached within a Quarter of a Mile, in hopes to recover it; but after skirmishing for Three Hours with the *French*, who had sallied out and attacked them, without any Advantage on either Side, they retired towards *Castellaccio*.

WHILE this passed the King, being apprehensive of some greater Commotion, was continually on Horseback, armed, and attended by a good Body of Cavalry, in the Plain between the River *Pozzivera* and his Camp. However, the

next

A. D. 1507. next Night, the Affairs of the *Genoese* being in a desperate State, and a Report being spread that the Heads of the popular Party had secretly compounded with the King, even at the Time when he was at *Asti*, and the Populace grieved to think how they had been deceived, the Doge, with many of those whose Crimes were so great that they despaired of Pardon, and that Party of *Pisans* which had remained in the City, set out for *Pisa*. And the next Morning, by Break of Day, the same Ambassadors returned to the Camp, and consented to give up the City to the King's Discretion, not having sustained the War above Eight Days ; giving us a very remarkable Example of the Weakness of an ignorant and confused Multitude, who, relying on fallacious Hopes, and Vain Projects, are fierce and confident when Danger is far off, but dejected and irresolute at its Approach, and never keep within the Bounds of Moderation.

At THE Agreement being settled, the King with his Army approached *Genoa* ; his Foot were quartered in the Suburbs,

and could hardly be restrained, especially  
the *Swiss*, from entering the City, and  
plundering it. After this *Chaumont* entered  
the Place with most of the other Troops,  
having first placed a Garrison in *Castellaccio*,  
and to him the *Genoese* delivered up all  
their Arms, both public and private,  
which were carried into the *Castelletto*,  
with Three Pieces of Cannon which the  
*Pisans* had brought with them, and which  
were afterwards sent to *Milan*. The next  
Day, which was *April 29*, the King in  
Person made his Entry into *Genoa*, with  
all the *Gens d'Armes* and Archers of his  
Guard, himself on Foot under a Canopy,  
all in white Armour, with a naked Dag-  
ger in his Hand. He was met by the  
Elders, accompanied by many of the  
most honourable Citizens, who throwing  
themselves at his Feet, and shedding a  
Flood of Tears, one of them, after Si-  
lence for some time, spoke as follows.

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King of  
France en-  
ters Genoa

“ We cannot deny, most Christian and Speeche  
most merciful Sovereign, but that in the made to  
Beginning of the Contentions with our him.  
Nobles, the greatest part of the People  
was

*A. D.* was concerned ; but we beg leave, at the  
1507. same time, to affirm, that the Insolences  
committed, and much more the Contu-  
macy and Disobedience to the royal Com-  
mands, proceeded entirely from the  
Dregs of the lowest of the Populace,  
whose Audaciousness and Temerity neither  
we nor our Fellow Citizens, nor our  
Merchants and substantial Tradesmen,  
had it in their Power to restrain. And  
therefore, whatever Punishment your  
Majesty should think fit to inflict on us,  
or on this City, would fall upon the Inno-  
cent, without affecting the Authors and  
Accomplices of those Crimes and Mis-  
demeanours, who are a Rabble of poor,  
indigent Vagabonds, hardly reckoned by  
us in the Number of Men, much less of  
Citizens, nor do they themselves regard  
this unhappy City as their Country. But  
our Intention, dread Sovereign, is to lay  
aside all Excuses, and to have recourse  
only to the Mercy and Magnanimity of  
so great a King, in which we repose an  
entire Confidence, and most humbly  
supplicate your Majesty, that, with the  
same Generosity you were pleased to par-  
don

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don much greater Offences in the *Milanese*,  
you would vouchsafe to cast an Eye of Pity and Compassion on your Subjects the  
*Genoese*, a few Months ago the most  
happy of all Mortals, and now an Exam-  
ple of all Miseries. Remember, we be-  
seech you, with what Glory your Ma-  
jesty's Name was celebrated throughout  
the World for Clemency on that Occa-  
sion, and how much more worthy of your  
Majesty it will be to confirm and illustrate  
that glorious Name, by shewing the  
same Mercy, than to obscure it by the  
Exercise of Cruelty. Remember, great  
King, that your Title of *Most Christian*  
is derived from Christ, the merciful Re-  
deemer of all Mankind; wherefore, in  
imitation of that blessed Pattern, it is  
your Duty to exercise, on all occasions,  
that Clemency and Mercy which are so  
proper to him. Let the Transgressions  
be never so heinous; Let them be in-  
conceivable, they cannot, however, ex-  
ceed your royal Pity and Goodness.  
You, our King, are the Representative  
of the most high God among us in Digni-  
ty and Power, (for what are Kings but  
Gods

*A. D.*  
1507. Gods in regard to their Subjects ?) and therefore are so much the more obliged to represent him also in a Conformity of Will, and of Works, of which none is so glorious, none so pleasing, and none renders his Name so wonderful, as Mercy."

THIS Speech was followed by a loud and universal Cry for Mercy. The King went forwards without giving any Answer; but his commanding them to rise from the Ground, and sheathing his Dagger, which he had held naked in his Hand, were Signs of a Heart rather inclined to Gentleness. Arriving afterwards at the great Church, an infinite Number of Women and Children of both Sexes, all clothed in White, threw themselves at his Feet, and supplicated his Clemency and Mercy, with loud Cries, and miserable Complaints; at the Sight of which, they say, the King's Heart was not a little touched. *Lewis* had resolved to deprive the *Genoese* of all Administration and Authority in, public Affairs, and to confiscate the Revenues of the Bank  
of

of *San Giorgio*, which were the Property of private Persons, to divest them of all Show of Liberty, and to reduce the City to the same State of Subjection as the Towns of the *Milanese*; but yet a few days after, considering that by such a Method he should not only punish many innocent Persons, but alienate the Affections of all the Nobility, and that it was easier to preserve his Dominion with some Degree of Lenity, than by reducing his Subjects to a State of Despair, he continue their antient Government, as it subsisted before their late Seditions; but to temper Lenity with Severity, he condemned the Community to pay Three Hundred Thousand Ducats, which were not long afterwards reduced to Two Hundred Thousand, to be paid within a certain Time, to reimburse him of his Charges, and for erecting a Fortress at the Tower of *Codifa*, a small distance from *Genoa*, and situated by the Sea-side above the Suburb that leads to the Valley of *Pozzvera* and *San Piero in Arena*. This Fortress, because it commands the whole Haven, and Part of the City, is not improperly called *Genoese* pardon on Conditions.

A. D. 1507. called *The Bridle*\*. It was his Will also that they should maintain a greater Garrison than usual, and should keep in their Port Three light Galleys always equipped for his Service, and should fortify the *Castelletto* and *Castellaccio*. He disannulled all former Agreements between him and the City, but renewed his Grants of almost all the same Things, tho' not as Covenants but Privileges, that he might have it always in his Power to deprive the Citizens of them. He burnt the Book in which were recorded all the former Conventions made between him and the Republic, to the great Grief of the People. He abolished the antient Stamp on the *Genoese* Coins, and ordered that, for the future, his own Mark should be impressed on them, as a Demonstration of his absolute Superiority. To all this was added the Beheading of *Demetrio Giustiniano*, who, in his Examination, discovered all the Negotiations held with the Pope,

\* He taxed the City in Three Hundred Thousand Ducats, of which Sum One Hundred Thousand were afterwards remitted, and the rest were to be paid in Fourteen Months, except Forty Thousand, which were to be paid immediately for building the Fortress. *Giustiniani*.

Pope, and the Encouragements received  
from him. *Pagolo da Nove*, the last  
Doge, a few Months after received the  
same Punishment. For as he was sailing  
from *Pisa* to *Rome*, he was betrayed by a  
*Corsican*, who had been in his Pay, and  
sold to the *French* for Eight Hundred  
Crowns.

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THE King having dispatched these  
Affairs, and received of the *Genoese* a so-  
lemn Oath of Fidelity, and granted his  
Pardon to all, except about Sixty, whom  
he left to the Disposition of the Ordinary  
Course of Justice, set out for *Milan*,  
having, as soon as he was in possession *French*  
of *Genoa*, disbanded his Army, with which, <sup>King dis-  
bands his</sup>  
had he followed the Course of his Victory, *Army*.  
he might easily have oppressed whom he  
pleased of the *Italian* Potentates, who  
were but badly provided for making Re-  
sistance. But the Reason of this sudden  
Dismission of his Troops was to satisfy the  
Pope, the King of the *Romans*, and the  
*Venetians*, who had taken very great Um-  
brage at his Coming into *Italy*, that he  
had

A. D. had formed no other Design than to re-  
<sup>1507.</sup> cover Genoa.

BUT nothing was sufficient to satisfy the Mind of the Pope, who, interpreting every thing in the worst Sense, made new and heavy Complaints of the King, as if it were by his Means that *Annibale Bentivoglio*, with Six Hundred Foot listed in the Dutchy of *Milan*, had, about this time, attempted to enter *Bologna*, declaring that if he succeeded in that Enterprise, he would make a further Progress in the Ecclesiastical State. The Pope incensed at this Proceeding, tho' he had before, with the greatest Difficulty, declared the Bishops of *Aus* and *Bayeux* Cardinals, refused to declare the Bishop of *Albi*, bitterly complaining that it was by the Permission of *Chaumont*, Brother to the Bishop, that the *Bentivogli* were allowed to reside in the *Milanese*. But, what was of greater Importance was, that when the King publickly declared his Intention of reducing the *Genoese* to Obedience, by force of Arms, his Holiness, transported with Hatred as well as Suspicions,

cions, had signified by his Nuncios, and <sup>A. D.</sup>  
 by a Brief written to the King of the <sup>1507.</sup>  
*Romans* and to the Electors of the Empire,  
 that the King of *France* was preparing to  
 pass into *Italy* at the Head of a very  
 powerful Army, under Pretence of sup-  
 pressing the Tumults in *Genoa*, which it  
 was in his Power to compose with his sole  
 Authority; but his real Design was to  
 oppress the State of the Church, and  
 usurp the Imperial Dignity. Besides the  
 Pope, the *Venetians* gave the same Notice  
 to the *Germans*, being alike apprehensive  
 of the Coming of the *French* King with  
 so great an Army into *Italy*.

MAXIMILIAN, who was naturally a  
 great Lover of Novelties, being in the <sup>Maximi-</sup>  
 mean time returned into *Flanders*, where <sup>lian calls</sup>  
 he in vain attempted to take upon him <sup>a Diet of</sup>  
 the Government of the Prince his <sup>the Em-</sup>  
 Grandson, summoned a Diet of the  
 Princes of *Germany*, and the Free Cities,  
 to meet at *Constance*. The Free Cities are  
 those Towns which acknowledge the Au-  
 thority of the Empire by certain Pay-  
 ments, but in all other Matters are go-

A. D. 1507. vernal by themselves, being intent, not on enlarging their Territories, but on preserving their Liberties \*. To this Diet was a greater and readier Concourse of the Barons, Princes, and People from all Parts of *Germany*, than had been known at any for a very long Time ; for there were present in Person all the Electors, with all the Princes, Ecclesiastic and Secular, throughout *Germany*, except such as were detained by some just Impediment, in which Case they sent either their Sons, Brothers, or other next Relations, to represent them by Proxy, and all the Free Towns sent their Deputies. To this august Assembly, by Order of *Cæsar*, the Pope's Brief was read, with a Multitude of Letters from different Places, of the same Import ; in some of which it was expressly asserted, that the King of *France* had designed to place in the pontifical Seat the Cardinal of *Rouen*, and to receive

the

\* These Free Cities were Eighty-five in Number, but afterwards, as *Giovio* says, reduced to Seventy-two. They acknowledge no Superior but the Emperor, to whom they pay a small Tribute, amounting to about Fifteen Thousand Florins a Year. They are all under a popular or mixed Government, except some few.

the Imperial Crown at his Hands. These <sup>A. D.</sup>  
~~Advices~~ filled the Minds of the whole <sup>1507.</sup>  
Assembly with the utmost Indignation,  
and *Cæsar*, as soon as the Murmurings  
and Noise would permit, made the fol-  
lowing Speech.

“ You are already sensible, most noble <sup>His</sup>  
Electors, Princes, and honourable Depu- <sup>Speech to</sup>  
ties, what Effects the Patience that we <sup>the Diet.</sup>  
have exercised for the Time past has pro-  
duced, and what has been the Conse-  
quence of the Disregard shewn to my  
Complaints in so many Diets. You see  
the King of *France*, who before durst  
not, but on extraordinary Opportunities,  
and on specious Pretences, make an At-  
tempt against the Holy Empire, openly  
now making Preparations, not to defend  
our rebellious Subjects, as he had done  
at other times, nor to seize on some  
Place belonging to the Empire, but to  
deprive *Germany* of the Imperial Dignity,  
which has been acquired and preserved,  
with so great Valour, and with so much  
Pains, by our Ancestors. And he has  
been emboldened in his Undertaking, not

*A. D.* <sup>1507.</sup> by the Increase of his own Strength, or  
the Diminution of ours, nor because he  
is ignorant how much more powerful  
*Germany* is without comparison than *France*,  
but from the Hopes he has conceived,  
from Experience of Things past, that we  
shall ever continue in the Manner we  
have hitherto done: That our Divisions  
or our Sloth will have more Effect upon  
us, than any Incentives to Glory, or even  
Care of our own Safety: That for the  
same Reasons for which we, to our great  
Shame, suffered him to get possession of  
the Dutchy of *Milan*, to foment Divi-  
sions among us, and to take under his  
Protection Rebels against the Empire,  
we shall tamely sit still while he ravishes  
the Imperial Dignity, and transfers the  
Ornament and Splendor of this Nation  
into *France*. How much less reproachful  
would it prove to our Name, and how  
much less Grief should I feel in my  
own Mind, were it known to all the  
World that *Germany* was inferior in Power  
to *France*; since I should be less afflicted  
at Loss than at Infamy; for at least in  
such a Case it would not be ascribed to  
our

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our Imprudence or Cowardice, but either to the Condition of the Times, or to the Malignity of Fortune. But what can be more unhappy, what more miserable, than to be reduced to such a State, as to make it a desirable thing not to be powerful? and to submit voluntarily to the greatest Loss, in order to preserve, since it cannot be done otherwise, our Names from eternal Infamy and Reproach? But that Greatness of Mind in every one of you, so often displayed in your private Concerns; that Courage, so eminent and peculiar to this Nation, with the Remembrance of the antient Valour and Triumphs of our Forefathers, ever the Dread and Terror of all other Nations, give me Hopes, and almost an Assurance, that, in an Affair of so weighty Concern, you will rouse up your warlike and invincible Spirits. For we are not now treating about the Alienation of the Dutchy of *Milan*, or of the Rebellion of the *Swiss*, in which important Affairs my Authority had but little Weight, on account of the Alliance I had contracted with *Lodovico Sforza*, for the particular Interests of the

A. D. House of *Austria*. But at present, what  
<sup>1507.</sup> Excuse can be pretended? With what  
Veil can we cover our Reproach? The  
Question now is, Whether the *Germans*,  
Possessors, not by Fortune but by Valour,  
of the *Roman Empire*, whose Arms have  
conquered almost the whole World, and  
whose Name is still at present formidable  
to all the Kingdoms in Christendom, shall  
basely suffer themselves to be deprived of  
so great a Dignity, shall be made an  
Example of Reproach, and, from being  
the chief and most glorious, shall become  
the lowest, most scorned, and most re-  
proached Nation in the World. What  
Reasons, what Interests, what Resent-  
ments can ever move you? If these can-  
not, what Motives can excite in you the  
Seeds of Valour and Generosity, implan-  
ted in you by your Ancestors? With  
what Sorrow will your Children and  
Descendents, in future Times, remember  
your Names, if you transmit not to them  
the *German* Name in that Grandeur and  
in that Authority with which it was trans-  
mitted to you from your Fathers? But  
laying aside Exhortations and Persuasions,  
because

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because it does not become me whom you have placed in this high Dignity, to be prolix in Speech, I shall proceed to lay before you Facts and Examples. It is my Resolution to pass into *Italy*, under the Name of receiving the Imperial Crown; a Solemnity, you know, which has more of Ceremony than Substance in it, for the Imperial Dignity and Authority depend wholly on your Election; but my principal Intention is to defeat the pernicious Counsels of the *French*, and to drive them out of the Dutchy of *Milan*, since we have no other Way to be secured from their Insolence. I am confident that not one of you will make any Difficulty of granting me the Aids that are usually given to Emperors that go to be crowned; these, in conjunction with my own Forces will, I doubt not, carry Victory with them every where, and the greatest Part of *Italy* will meet me with humble Petitions for confirming their Privileges, or for obtaining from our Justice a Deliverance from the Oppression under which they groan, or by decent Submission to appease the Anger of the Conqueror.

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queror. The King of *France* will give way to the bare Name of our Arms, for the *French* have still fresh in their Memories the Battle of *Guineguaste*, in which I myself, tho' then but a Youth, and scarce more than of Boy's Estate, by dint of true Valour, and Greatness of Mind, broke the Army of King *Lewis* \*; since which Time the Kings of *France* never durst venture to try the Force of my Arms, but had recourse to insidious Arts and Stratagems. But considering the Generosity, and Magnanimity, so peculiar to the *German* Nation, can you think it suitable to our Fame and Honour, in so pressing and common Danger, to be so slow in our Resentments, and not to make extraordinary Provisions in so extraordinary a Case? And are you not called upon by the Glory and Greatness of your Name, which has always made you think it your Duty, in a peculiar Manner, to defend the Dignity of the *Roman* Pontiffs, and the Authority of the Apostolic See, which are

\* *Guineguaste* is a Village of *Picardy* near *Terrovenne*, where, in the last Year of *Lewis XI*, A. D. 1479, the *French* were overcome by *Maximilian*.

## THE WARS IN ITALY.

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are now with equal Ambition and Impiety wickedly violated by the King of *France*, All the  
no other  
old D. A. to rouse up all *Germany*, by a General Decree, to take up Arms, and exert themselves in the most powerful Manner for this Purpose? This Duty is now wholly incumbent on you, for I have sufficiently discharged my Part in readily calling you together, to set before your Eyes the common Danger, and to animate you by the Example of my own Resolution. In Me there shall be no Want of Fortitude of Mind to expose myself to any Danger, no Strength of Body, hardened by continual Exercise, to endure any Fatigue. And as for Counsel and Skill in Military Affairs, my Age and Experience have so qualified me, that you need not want a Leader worthy of that Honour for such an Enterprize. But the more Authority you bestow on your King, and the greater the Power and Force with which he is invested, the more easy will you render the Defence of the Liberty of the *Roman Church*, our common Mother; and, to your own exceeding Glory, and that of the *Germans*, you will exalt to the

4. D. the highest Degree the Imperial Dignity,  
1507. whose Greatness and Splendor are communicated to every one here present, as well as to the whole Body of this most powerful and warlike Nation."

Its Ef-  
fects on  
the Diet.

THIS Speech raised wonderful Commotions in the Minds of the whole Audience, who were ashamed that the Complaints of *Maximilian* had not been heard in former Diets. And as it was easy to excite a new Spirit of Indignation in Minds already incensed, so when all the Members were in a great Heat, protesting it should never come to pass that, by their Negligence, the Majesty of the Empire should be transferred to other Nations, they began, with great Unanimity, to treat on some necessary Articles. All were of Opinion that a very powerful Army was to be prepared, sufficient, tho' it were opposed by the King of *France* and all the *Italians*, to renew and recover the antient Rights of the Empire in *Italy*, which, by the Weakness or Fault of the former *Cæsars*, were fallen into the Hands of Usurers. That the Glory of the *Ger-*

*manic*

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manic Body represented by the Concurrence of all the Princes, and of all the free Towns, required such Measures, as should plainly convince the World, that if in *Germany* there had not been for many Years a Union of Wills, it was not for want of that Power and Greatness of Courage by which their Ancestors had made themselves formidable to all the World, and universally acquired to themselves a Name with immortal Glory, and the Imperial Dignity; and in particular many Noblemen had acquired Lordships and Grandeur; and how many illustrious Houses are there who have reigned a long Time in *Italy*, whose States were acquired by their Valour! These Affairs were debated with such Warmth, that it is manifest there had not been for a long Course of Years a Diet, from which greater Movements were expected. People were universally persuaded that, besides other Reasons, the Electors and the rest of the Princes would the more readily agree to the Proposals, as they were in hopes that, on account of the tender Age of the Sons of *Philip*, the Imperial Dignity,

*A. D.* <sup>1507.</sup> nity, which had continued successively in *Albert*, *Frederick*, and *Maximilian*, all of the House of *Austria*, would pass into another Family.

THESE Debates coming to the Ears of the King of *France*, had induced him, in order to prevent Suspicion, as soon as he had subdued *Genoa*, to disband his Army; and he would with the like Expedition have repassed the Mountains, but for the Desire he had to have an Interview with the King of *Aragon*. That Prince was preparing to return into *Spain*, being wholly intent on resuming the Government of *Castile*, because *Giovanna* his Daughter was incapacitated for so weighty an Administration, not so much by the Weakness of her Sex, as by a Melancholy, occasioned by the Death of her Husband, which disturbed her Mind; and her Sons by King *Philip* were under Age, the eldest being not yet full Ten

*King Fer-  
dinando in-  
vited to re-  
sume the  
Govern-  
ment of  
Castile.* Years old. Besides, the old King was willing to give Way to the Invitations and Importunities of many who recalled him to the Government, in grateful Remembrance

brance how those Kingdoms had been  
ruled with Justice, and flourished in long  
Peace, under his Administration. And  
he had still a further Motive from the  
Dissensions which began to arise between  
the great Lords, and the manifest Signs  
of future Disturbances that appeared in  
many Parts. His Return also was ardently  
desired by his Daughter, who, tho'  
in other things wavering and besides her-  
self, was always constant in desiring the  
Return of her Father, and obstinately  
refused, amidst all the Sollicitations and  
Importunities that could be used, to sub-  
scribe her own Name to any Commission,  
without which Subscription, according to  
the Custom of those Kingdoms, all Orders  
on occurrent Business relating to Affairs of  
Government were of no Validity.

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FOR these Reasons the King of *Aragon* sets out  
left *Naples* after he had stayed there not from Na-  
above seven Months, without answering ples for *Spain*  
in any manner the vast Expectations that  
were conceived of him, not only on ac-  
count of the Shortness of Time, and be-  
cause it is difficult to answer Conceits,  
which

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which are seldom formed with due Maturity, or measured by just Proportions, but because he had many Difficulties and Impediments to encounter, by which means he did nothing worthy of Praise or Remembrance for the public Good of *Italy*, nor any thing of Use or Benefit to the Kingdom of *Naples*. For he had no Time to employ his Thoughts on *Italy*, from his Desire to return as soon as he could to the Government of *Castile*, the principal Foundation of his Greatness. On this Occasion it was necessary by all means to preserve the Friendship of the King of the *Romans*, and of the King of *France*; the first, on account of his Authority, as being Grandfather to the Children of the deceased King; and the other because he was a neighbouring Power, and, by encouraging the Malecontents in his Kingdoms, might prevent his Return. When he set himself about establishing the Kingdom of *Naples*, and gratifying the Nobility, he found Difficulties, into which he was thrown by the Peace he had made with the King of *France*; being obliged to make restitution of the Estates taken

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taken from the *Anjouin* Barons, which either by Agreement, or as a Reward, had been distributed among those who had followed his Party, and being unwilling to disoblige his Friends, was under a Necessity of making them a Recompence either with Estates of the same Value, to be purchased of others, or in Money. But as his Substance was utterly insufficient for this Purpose, he was constrained not only to exact with Rigour the royal Revenue, and to withhold the Bounty usually bestowed by new Kings on the People, without granting any Exemption, or exercising any kind of Liberality, but also, with incredible Complaints and Murmuring of all Ranks, to lay new Taxes on the People, who had expected Relief and Deliverance from their sore Oppression. Nor were the Complaints of the Barons of each Party less clamorous; for those who were in possession of the forfeited Estates were loth to resign them, and were besides, by Necessity of the Times, much stinted and limited in their Recompenses; and those who had the Benefit of Restitution, were restrained as much

4. D. as possible in all Matters wherein any  
1507. Controversy arose, because the less was  
restored to them, the less was the Re-  
compence to the others.

THE King at his Departure was accom-  
panied by the Great Captain, who  
had acquired vast Renown, and won  
the Hearts and Affections of all the  
Neapolitans to an incredible Degree, and  
was highly celebrated for his Liberality,  
as on all other Occasions, so especially for  
that generous Demonstration of it before  
his Departure, in bestowing very rich  
Gifts and Presents; for which End, that  
he might not be wanting to his Honour,  
he was obliged to sell no small Part of  
his own Estate \*.

#### THERE

\* *Gonfaldo, Giovio* says, did not set out so soon as  
the King, but a little after him, that he might have  
Time to take Leave of his Friends, and of all the  
Citizens, and especially the Ladies of Quality. Before  
his Departure he called all his Creditors, by sound of  
Trumpet, to the Board of Treasury, to receive their  
Debts, and gave large Sums to the Soldiers and Officers,  
to enable them to be liberal, and to provide themselves  
with Ornaments and Necessaries, that they might return  
well equipped into their own Country.

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THE THERE was no great Harmony between the Pope and the King when he left *Naples*; for his Majesty having demanded of the Pontiff the Investiture of that Kingdom, he refused to grant it unless he paid the Tribute which had been formerly paid by the Antient Kings when they received the Investiture. But *Ferdinando* insisted on having the same Abatement which had been made to his Cousin *Ferdinando*, and to his Sons and Nephews, demanding the Investiture of the whole Kingdom in his own Name, as the Successor of old *Alfonso*. In this Capacity he had received the Homage and Oaths of his Subjects when he came to *Naples*, tho' in the Articles of the Peace made with the King of *France*, it was provided that, as to the *Terra di Lavoro* and the *Abruzzi*, the Name of the Queen should be jointly recognised. It was believed, that this Refusal of the Investiture was the Cause that the King declined an Interview with the Pope, who at the time of his Departure waited for several Days in the Castle of *Ofia*,

4. D. in expectation, as it was said, of his  
<sup>1507.</sup> Passage. But whatever be the true Reason,  
the King of *Aragon* sailed directly to  
*Savona*, where, according to Agreement,  
he was to have a Conference with the  
King of *France*, who had with that In-  
tent remained in *Italy*, and as soon as  
he had received Advice of *Ferdinando*'s  
setting sail from *Naples*, set out from  
*Milan* for *Savona*.

Congress  
of the  
Kings of  
*France*  
and  
*Aragon*.

THIS Congress of the two Kings was  
attended with all the Demonstrations of a  
free and full Confidence on both Sides,  
and such as had never been remembered  
on the like Occasion. For other Princes  
between whom there had been either  
Emulation, Remembrance of old Offences,  
or some Cause of Umbrage, were never  
brought together but with a Precaution  
that one of them should not put himself  
in the Power of the other; but in this  
Case the Proceedings were quite different.  
For as soon as the *Aragonian* Squadron  
was come to an Anchor in the Port of  
*Savona*, the King of *France*, who was  
come down to the Key, passed over a  
wooden

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wooden Bridge made for that Purpose, attended by a few Gentlemen \*, and without a Guard, into the Forecastle of the King's Galley, where he was received with inexpressible Joy by the King and the Queen his Niece. After they had a while entertained themselves in pleasant Discourse, they went ashore over the same Bridge, walked on Foot into the City, and not without Difficulty passed through the Midst of an infinite Multitude of People that flocked thither from all the neighbouring Towns. The Queen had at her right Hand her Husband, and at her left her Uncle, and was most splendidly adorned with Jewels and other most sumptuous Apparel. Immediately after the two Kings walked the Cardinal of *Rouen* and the Great Captain, then followed a great Number of young Ladies and noble Youths of the Queen's Court, all in most superb Attire. The Procession was preceded and closed by the Courtiers of the two Kings with the utmost Pomp and Magnificence, in most costly Robes

G 3 and

\* He had no more than three Attendants. *Bishop of Nebbio.*

A. D. and other Ornaments, of the richest  
1507. Sort. In this pompous Manner the King of *France* attended the King and Queen of *Aragon* into the Castle appointed for their Lodging, which has a Gate towards the Sea, and assigned to their Court that Half of the Town which is contiguous to the Castle, himself taking up his Quarters in the Bishop's Palace facing the same.

IT was certainly a Sight worthy of Reflections on the Congress. Remembrance to behold together two Kings the most powerful of all the Christian Princes, who had a little before been most bitter Enemies, not only reconciled as linked in Affinity, but discarding all Enmity, and cancelling all Remembrance of past Injuries, each of them entrusting his own Life in the Power of the other, with as much Confidence as if they had been always the most affectionate of Brothers. Hence those who were present took occasion to argue which of the two Kings shewed the most Confidence. Many cried up that of the King of *France*, who put himself

himself into the Hands of the other without any other Security but *Ferdinando's* Faith ; who had great Reason to be ashamed that such Confidence was first reposed in him ; besides there was more Ground for Suspicion that he might be pleased to have it in his Power to secure himself of the King of *France*, that he might the better establish himself in the Kingdom of *Naples*. But many, on the other hand, magnified, in a greater Degree, the Confidence of *Ferdinando*, who not for a very short time only, as the other, but for several Days entrusted his Person with the King of *France*, whom he had deprived of so fine a Kingdom, with so great a Loss of his Soldiers, and so much Dishonour to his Name, that he had Reason to fear, that Hatred and a Desire of Revenge were predominant in him ; and, as it might be further suggested on the same side, the Perfidy would meet with the greater Reward. For *Ferdinando* could not promise himself much Benefit from making a Prisoner of the King of *France*, because his Kingdom was established on its own

A. D. 1507. Laws and Customs in such a Manner, that its native Force and Authority would not suffer much Diminution by such an Accident \*. But if *Ferdinando* should be made a Prisoner, it could not be doubted but that, by reason of the tender Age of his Heir, and the Newness of his Acquisition of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and because his other Kingdoms, that of *Castile* in particular, would from various Accidents be subject to fall into Confusion among one another, so that the King of *France* would not for many Years have received any Disturbance from the Arms and Power of *Spain*. But the Great Captain furnished the Spectators with no less Matter for Discourse, than the two Kings, and all Eyes were as much turned upon him, for the Fame of his Valour, and the Memory of his many Victories, which carried such a Lustre, that the *French* themselves, tho' so often beaten by him that they had hated and abhorred his very Name, now could not be satisfied in viewing

\* This is verified by what happened afterwards at the Battle of *Pavia*, where King *Francis* was taken Prisoner, but his Kingdom suffered no Manner of Diminution by that Event.

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viewing and honouring him, and in relating his Exploits to those who had never been in the Kingdom of *Naples*; some telling with what extraordinary and incredible Expedition and Stratagems he had on a sudden attacked the Barons in their Quarters at *Laino*; others recounting with what Constancy of Mind he had endured so many Difficulties and Hardships in the Midst of Famine and Pestilence, when besieged in *Barletta*. Some extolled on his Diligence and efficacious Way of engaging the Hearts of Men; by help of which he kept together his Soldiers so long a Time without Money; how valiantly he fought at *Cirignuola*; with what Strength and Fortitude of Mind, when so much inferior in Force, with an Army not paid, and surrounded with infinite Difficulties, he resolved not to quit his Camp near the River *Gargliano*; with what military Industry, and by what Stratagems he obtained the Victory there; and how he never neglected taking all Advantages of the Disorders of the Enemy. And the Admiration of the Public was increased by his peculiar

A. D. 1507. peculiar majestic Presence, the Magnificence of his Words, and his Behaviour, which was full of Gravity softened with Gracefulness. But above all the King of France, who insisted that he should sup at the same Table with *Ferdinando*, the Queen, and himself, and had caused *Ferdinando* to lay his Commands on him for that Purpose, was in a manner ravished with beholding him, and conversing with him; so that it was universally agreed, that this Day was no less glorious to the Great Captain, than that in which as a Conqueror he entered in Triumph with his Army into the City of *Naples*. This Day was indeed the last of the glorious Days of the Great Captain, for afterwards he never went out of the Kingdom of *Spain*, nor had any farther Opportunity for the Exercise of his Talents in War, or in any remarkable Transaction in Time of Peace. \*

THE

\* In this Congress of the two Kings, says *Giovio*, nothing was to be seen more worthy or more illustrious than *Gonsalvo*, to whom *Lewis* himself confirmed the Title of *Great*.

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THE two Kings stayed together three Days, in which Time they held very secret and long Conferences, to which none was usually admitted except the Cardinal of *Santa Prassede*, the Pope's Legate. In these Conferences, as appeared partly from what then transpired, and partly from what happened afterwards, the Kings reciprocally promised to maintain a perpetual Friendship and good Understanding with each other, and it was agreed that *Ferdinando* should endeavour to compose the Differences between *Cæsar* and the King of *France*, that so being all united together they might afterwards attack the *Venetians*. And to manifest that they had the common Cause of all as much at Heart as their own private Interest; they consulted about reforming the State of the Church, and calling a Council for that Purpose. On this Head *Ferdinando* did not proceed with much Sincerity, but his Aim was to amuse the Cardinal of *Rouen*, who was ardently desirous of the Pontificate, with hopes of a Council. By such Arts as these he got the Affections of that Prelate

A. D. 1507. Prelate to such a Degree, that he was not convinced till late, and after many Demonstrations, and perhaps with no small Detriment to the Affairs of the King his Master, what a wide Difference there was between the Sayings and Doings of that Prince, and how deep and secret he laid his Measures.

Affairs of the *Pisans*. THEY had also on the Carpet the Cause of the *Pisans*, about which the *Florentines* had been treating that Year with both of the Kings. For the King of *France*, when he was making Preparations against the *Genoese*, being provoked with the *Pisans* for the Assistance they had given to that People, and it appearing to him convenient for his Affairs that the *Florentines* should recover *Pisa*, had given them Hopes that, after he was Master of *Genoa*, he would order his Army to march thither; for the King and the whole Court had changed their antient Goodwill towards the *Pisans* into Hatred, for their succouring the *Genoese*. But the Enterprize against *Genoa* being finished, he altered his Resolution, for the

the same Reasons which induced him to A. D.  
1507. disband his Army, and that he might not offend the King of *Aragon*, who affirmed that he would undertake to dispose the *Pisans* to return unanimously under the Dominion of the *Florentines*; from which Management the King of *France* was in Hopes of obtaining a round Sum of Money from that Republic. The King of *Aragon* directed his Endeavours to that Purpose, tho' from different Motives. For it would be more agreeable to him that the *Florentines* should not recover *Pisa*; but knowing that the Place could not be preserved without Expence and Difficulty, and doubting it would fall into their Hands by Means of the King of *France*, he had entertained Hopes, while he was at *Naples*, that he was able, by virtue of his own Authority, to induce the *Pisans* to submit to the Dominion of the *Florentines* upon honourable Conditions. And, in case of Success, the *Florentines* promised to enter into a Confederacy with him, and to present him at different Times with One Hundred and Twenty Thousand Ducats. But not finding in the *noit*

1. D. the *Pisans* that Compliance which they  
1507. had at first given him Reason to expect,  
and to prevent the King of *France* from  
receiving the whole Reward, he had told  
the *Florentine* Ambassadors in plain Terms,  
that if they attempted, by any manner of  
Means, to recover *Pisa* without his Assi-  
stance, he would openly oppose their En-  
terprise. And that he might prevail on  
the King of *France* to lay aside all  
Thoughts of using Force, sometimes he  
declared that he was confident of inducing  
the *Pisans* to some Composition; some-  
times he told him that they were under  
his Protection; but that was false. It  
was true indeed that the *Pisans* had several  
times demanded it, and offered to surren-  
der themselves absolutely to his Dominion;  
but tho' he ever allured them with Hopes,  
and ordered the Great Captain to do the  
same in a more ample Manner, yet he had  
never complied with their Request. But  
this Affair being more particularly dis-  
cussed in *Savona*, the two Kings conclud-  
ed that it was fit that *Pisa* should return  
under Subjection to the *Florentines*, and  
that they should both receive a Gratifica-  
tion

tion on that account. The *Florentines* being apprised of these Negotiations in their Favour, would by no Means disoblige the King of *Aragon*, and forbore this Year to destroy the Harvest of the *Pisans*, from which they had promised themselves great Success. For *Pisa* was much exhausted of Provisions, and so weak in their Forces, that the Troops of the *Florentines* over-ran all the Country to the very Gates of *Pisa*, where the Peasants, who were more numerous than the Citizens, being very loth to lose the Fruit of a whole Year's Labour, had begun to abate much of their usual Obsturacy. Nor had the *Pisans* any longer the joint Assistance of their Neighbours; for the *Gio-  
neese*, overwhelmed with Calamities, employed their Thoughts on other Matters; *Pandolfo Petrucci* refused to be at any Ex-  
pence; and the *Lucchese*, tho' they had always furnished them with Succours of one kind or other in private, were unable alone to sustain so vast a Charge.

THE two Kings left *Savona* after a Stay of four Days, and parted from one another

Departure  
of the two  
Kings  
from Sa-  
vona.

ther

A. D. <sup>1507.</sup> ther with all the Demonstrations of cordial Agreement and Affection ; one went by Sea to *Barcelona*, the other returned by Land to *France*, leaving the Affairs of *Italy* in the same State, but the Pope under a greater Dissatisfaction of Mind. His Holiness took Occasion from the late Step of *Annibale Bentivoglio* to make Instances, by the Cardinal of *Santa Prassede*, to the King of *France* at *Savona*, to have *Giovanni Bentivogli* and his Son *Alessandro*, who resided in the Dutchy of *Milan*, delivered up to him Prisoners ; representing to his Majesty, that since they had broke thro' the Agreement made by means of *Chaumont* in *Bologna*, he was no longer obliged to observe his Word of Honour given them ; and offering, if his Request were granted, to create the Bishop of *Albi* a Cardinal. The King answered that there was no Evidence of their Guilt, which if proved he was disposed to punish ; that he had kept *Giovanni* many Days a Prisoner in the Castle of *Milan*, but, no Witness of their Misdemeanours appearing against them, he would not break his Word, to which he thought himself obliged ; yet,

Pope com-  
plains of  
the Bentivogli.

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to do his Holiness a Pleasure, he was disposed to suffer him to proceed against them with Censures and Penalties, as Rebels to the Church ; which would give him no more Concern than he felt when the Mob, in the Heat of the late Commotion, demolished the Palace of the *Bentivogli* to the very Foundation.

In the mean time the Diet, assembled at *Constance*, raised the Expectations of the Public as much by their Proceedings as they had done at the Beginning. And these Expectations were kept up by *Cæsar* with various Arts, and magnific Speeches, publishing abroad, that he was to pass into *Italy* with such an Army, that all the Forces of the King of *France* and the *Italians*, united together, would not be able to resist him. And to give the greater Weight and Authority to his Cause, by demonstrating that the Defence of the Church was what he laid most to Heart, he signified, by his Letters to the Pope and the College of Cardinals, that he now declared the King of *France* a Rebel, and an Enemy to the Holy Empire, for his

A. D. 1507. passing into *Italy* with a Design to transfer the Pontifical Dignity on the Person of the Cardinal of *Rouen*, the Imperial Crown on himself, and reduce all *Italy* under miserable Subjection; and therefore he was preparing to come to *Rome* to be crowned, and to establish the common Liberty and Safety: That by his Imperial Dignity being Advocate of the Church, and by his own proper Piety ardently desirous of advancing the Apostolic See, it did not become him to expect that the Pontiff should address him with Requests or Intreaties on such an Occasion, since he knew that his Holiness, from an Apprehension of these wicked and mischievous Designs, had fled out of *Bologna*, and that the same Fears and Apprehensions had prevented him and the College of Cardinals from making known the Danger, or demanding Succours \*.

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\* The Ultramontane Writers make no mention of the Emperor's proposing a War with *France*; they say, that in this Diet, which lasted from April to August, he treated of breaking with the *Venetians* for seizing on some of the *Austrian* Towns, and aiding the King of *France* in the Conquest of the *Milanese*; and that on his Complaints it was resolved to declare War against the *Batavians*. *Vene-*

D. A.

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THE News of what was transacting in *Germany* coming to *Italy* by various and repeated Advices, and magnified by Fame, as usual, beyond the Truth ; together with what was publickly talked, and daily gained Credit, about the vast Preparations which were making by the King of *France*, who was believed to have just Grounds for Apprehensions, raised great Comotions in the Minds of all who thought themselves concerned, in some exciting Hopes, in others Fears, and in others a Desire of Innovations. Hence the Pope sent the Cardinal of *Santa Croce* his Ambassador to *Cæsar* ; and the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, and all the independent Potentates of *Italy*, except the Marquis of *Mantoua*, deputed to him some proper Persons, either with the Title of Ambassadors, or under some other Denomination. This Situation of Affairs occasioned great Perplexity to the King of *France*, who was uncertain

How far the *Venetians* of  
the *Venetians*. But what is related by our Author seems the  
most likely, from the Resolutions which were taken by  
the Diet.

A. D. 1507. of the Disposition of the *Venetians*, and  
much more of that of the Pope, on account of some old Prejudices, and now especially for his making choice of the Cardinal of *Santa Croce* for that Ambassy, who was an antient and hearty Friend of *Cæsar*, and zealous for promoting his Grandeur. But, to speak the Truth, the Disposition of the Pope was so far from being obvious to others, that it was not known to himself; for having his Mind full of nothing but Dissatisfaction and Suspitions concerning the King of *France*, at one time he wished for the Coming of *Cæsar*, that he might be delivered from them; at another, the Remembrance of the antient Controversies between the Popes and the Emperors excited his Fears, considering that the same Grounds for Contention still remained. In this doubtful and perplexed Condition, he delayed coming to any Determination, expecting to hear first what had been resolved in the Diet. Proceeding therefore according to general Forms, he instructed his Legate to exhort *Cæsar*, in his Name, to pass into *Italy* without an Army, and,

in

in that Case, to offer him greater Honours than had ever been paid by any Pope at <sup>A. D.</sup> ~~the Coronation of Emperors.~~ <sup>1507.</sup>

But the Expectations of the Public from the Resolutions of the Diet began in a little time to diminish. For as soon as it was known in *Germany* that the King of *France* had, immediately after the Reduction of *Genoa*, disbanded his Army, and was afterwards, with all the Speed he could make, returned on the other Side of the Mountains, the Fears and Concern about his usurping the Pontificate and the Empire quite ceased, and the Ardour of the Princes and People abated ; nor was the public Concern, as it generally happens, any longer of such Weight as to make them overlook their private Interest ; and, besides other Reasons, it has been the constant Desire and Concern of all *Germany*, for many Ages, that the Greatness of the Emperors might not increase to such a Height as to enable them to subject the rest of the Princes and States to their Obedience. Nor was the King of *France* at all wanting in In-

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dustry to vindicate his own Cause, for he sent privately proper Persons to *Constance*, who did not appear in public, but secretly laboured, with the tacit Consent of the Princes who were the Friends of the King their Master, to clear him of those infamous Reproaches cast upon him by the plain Evidence of Facts; they insinuated that the King, as soon as he had reduced *Genoa* to his Obedience, immediately disbanded his Army, and, without leaving Troops in *Italy*, was departed from that Country with all the Haste he could make, and returned beyond the Mountains. These Emissaries also asserted that the King had not only abstained from injuring the *Roman Empire* by Deeds, but that in all Confederacies, Conventions, or Obligations whatsoever, in which he had engaged himself, it was constantly with this Exception, "That he should not be bound to any thing contrary to the Rights of the *Holy Empire*." The King, however, did not so far rely on this Justification, as not to use a more prevailing Argument, which was, to temper the *German* Ferocity by a liberal

Distri-

Distribution of his Gold, of which that Nation is very greedy.

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THE Diet ended at last on the 20th Day of *August*, having resolved, after much Debate, to grant to the King of *the Romans*, for his Expedition into *Italy*, <sup>Resolu-</sup> <sub>tions of the Diet.</sub> Eight Thousand Horse and Thirty Thousand Foot, with Six Months Pay, and for the Charge of the Artillery and other extraordinary Expences, One Hundred and Twenty Thousand *Rhenish* Florins, for once only: That on the next Festival of *San Gallo*, which is about the Middle of *October*, the Troops should rendezvous near *Constance*. It was reported at that time, that the Diet would perhaps have granted larger Supplies, if *Maximilian* had consented that the Expedition, under his Management and Direction, should be undertaken entirely in the Name of the Empire, the General Officers elected by Orders of the Empire, the Troops commanded under the same Name, and the Disposal of the Places acquired left to the Determination of the Diet. But *Maximilian* would have no

A. D. 1507. Colleague, nor act under any other Name than his own, nor have the Rewards of his Victories given to any but those of his own Appointment, tho' in the Name of the Empire, chusing rather smaller Supplies on his own Terms, and at his own Disposal, than larger with Limitations and Restrictions of his Power and Authority.

*Italy  
under  
Alarms.*

THOUGH for these Reasons the Resolutions of the Diet did not answer the Expectations which the Public had at first conceived of them, yet *Italy* was not freed from its Apprehensions on account of this intended Expedition. For it was considered that the Troops granted to *Maximilian* in the Diet, in conjunction with those which his own Subjects were able to furnish, and those which he could raise at his own Expence, would make a very powerful Army; consisting all of fierce and resolute Soldiers, expert in War, attended with an infinite Train of Artillery, and, what rendered it the more formidable, under the Command of a General who, by his natural Disposition

fition, and long Exercise in Arms, was <sup>A. D.</sup> ~~1507.~~ most expert in military Discipline, and well qualified to undergo any Fatigue of Body, or Anxiety of Mind, that might be required for the most difficult Enter-prise, and therefore was in greater Reputation than any Emperor had been in these Hundred Years past \*. Besides, a Treaty was set on foot for taking into his Pay a Body of Twelve Thousand *Swiss*; the Bailiff of *Dijon*, indeed, and other Agents of the King of *France*, made very strong Opposition against it in the Diet of that Nation, putting them in Mind of the Confederacy which had subsisted so many Years with *France*, and confirmed not long ago by the King, and of the Benefits that had accrued to their

\* *Maximilian*, immediately after his being elected Emperor, went against the *Turks*, and expelled them out of *Croatia*. He afterwards invaded *Burgundy*, and got the better of the *Swiss*. He subdued the Peasants who in great Numbers had risen about *Spires*, and, after re-covering *Bavaria*, he obliged *Philip Count Palatine* of the *Rhine* to ask him Pardon, as he did soon after the Duke of *Gelderland*, who had revolted from him. The Year following he carried his Arms against the King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and made him accept of his own Terms.

A. D. their People from it ; on the other hand  
<sup>1507.</sup> representing their inveterate Enmity with  
the House of *Austria*, and the bloody  
War they had engaged in with *Maximi-  
lian*, and how pernicious the Greatness  
of the Empire must be to their Es-  
tablishment ; yet they shewed no small In-  
clination to satisfy the Demand of *Cæsar*,  
or at least not to bear Arms against him,  
out of a reverential Fear of injuring the  
*German* Nation, whose Cause seemed part-  
ly annexed to this Undertaking. Hence  
many were of Opinion that the King of  
*France*, if he should find himself aban-  
doned by the *Swiss*, would either join  
with the *Venetians*, not having a Body  
of Infantry sufficient to oppose that of the  
Enemy, or would put his Troops in Gar-  
rison for Defence of the Towns, in hopes  
that the *German* Forces, after pouring  
into *Italy* like a Torrent, would in a lit-  
tle Time be dispirited, and languish away  
for Want of Money ; and it was observed,  
that the *French* were already hard at work  
in fortifying the Suburbs of *Milan*, and  
others of the most important Places in  
that Dutchy.

At

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AT the Noise of these Commotions and mighty Preparations the *Venetian* Venetians Senate were no less alarmed and perplexed than the other States ; and as their courted by Maximilian. Resolutions were of the highest Importance, their Alliance was sollicited, with the utmost Care and Diligence, by each Party. *Cæsar* had, at the Beginning, sent to *Venice* three Ambassadors of great Authority, to make Instances for Leave to pass through their Territories ; and not content with this Demand, he invited them to enter into a stricter Alliance with him, on condition that they should participate of the Fruits of the Victory ; and, on the contrary, he represented to them, that it was in his Power to make an Agreement with the King of *France*, who had often sollicited it, at different Times, on Conditions that would tend to their Prejudice.

ON the other Side, the King of *France*, And by *Venice*, and by the *Venetian* Ambassador of France. who resided at his Court, was sollicitous to

A. D. <sup>1507.</sup> to induce the Republic to oppose with Force of Arms the Coming of *Cæsar*, as pernicious to them as well as himself; offering at the same time the Assistance of all his Forces, and to continue in perpetual Confederacy with them.

BUT the *Venetian* Senate was, at that Time, unwilling that the Peace of *Italy* should be disturbed, and was not to be tempted, by the Offers of enlarging their Empire, to wish for new Commotions; for knowing by Experience that the Acquisition of *Cremona* was no Compensation for the Jealousies and Dangers to which they were continually exposed since they chose the King of *France* for their near Neighbour, they would willingly have resolved on a Neutrality; but being earnestly sollicited and teased by *Cæsar*, they were under a Necessity of granting or refusing him a Passage. They were afraid to deny it, because they were the first who lay in his Way to be attacked; if they granted it, they would offend the King of *France*, for in the Confederacy that subsisted between them it was

ex-

expressly prohibited to grant a Passage to the Enemies of either Party. And they were sensible that when once they had begun to offend him, it would be afterwards a Folly to remain idle Spectators, and wait till Victory had declared for one Party or the other, for they would then be sure to have one for their most bitter Enemy, and the other, having received no other Satisfaction than to be allowed a Passage, would not think himself much obliged to their Friendship. For these Reasons the Senate was unanimously of Opinion, that it was necessary to declare openly for one of the Parties; but on what Side to fix their Choice in so weighty an Affair, there were great Variety of Sentiments. Therefore after they had delayed, as long as they could, coming to a Resolution, and were no longer able to resist the pressing Instances which each of the Parties made them, they referred the Affair at last to the ultimate Determination of the Council of the Pregadi, in which *Nicolo Foscarino* made the following Speech:

" I F

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" If it lay in our Power, most excellent Senators, to pass a Resolution by which the Peace of our Republic, in the Midst of these mighty Movements and Troubles which now threaten to beset us, might be preserved and established, I am very certain that there would be no Difference of Sentiments among us, and that no Proposals would be sufficient to incline us to a War attended with so much Cost and Danger as the present appears to carry with it. But since, for the Reasons so often of late alledged in our Debates, there are no Hopes of preserving our Peace, I persuade myself that the principal Reason on which we are to found our Resolution, is to consider closely with ourselves, whether it be probable that the King of the *Romans*, despairing of our Friendship, will join with the King of *France*, or that the Enmity between these two Princes is so powerful and efficacious as to prevent any such Union: For if we could be secure from that Danger, I should make no Scruple of preferring the Friendship of the King of *France*, because

because when our Forces are heartily united with his Troops for the common Defence, we shall easily protect our State; and it will be more honourable to continue our Confederacy with him, than to renounce it without any apparent Reason. Besides, it will be more laudable, and carry a better Aspect in the Sight of all Mankind, to enter into a War with a professed Intention of preserving the Peace of *Italy*, than to join our Arms with those which we cannot but know are taken up with a Design to raise great Commotions and Disturbances. But presupposing the Danger of an Union, I cannot believe that any one will deny that we ought, by all means, to prevent it; and, without comparison, the most effectual Way would be to join with the King of the *Romans* against the King of *France*, rather than to wait till they unite together against us. But whether this Conjunction will take place or not, it is difficult to form any certain Judgment, because it depends not only on the Will of others, but on such a Multitude of Accidents, and Causes, as hardly leave it in

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in the Power of those whom it concerns, to know what Resolution is most proper to be taken ; yet from what we can learn by Conjecture, and from what past Experience has taught us concerning Futurity, it appears to me a very hazardous Point, and justly to be dreaded by us. For it is more than probable that the King of the *Romans* will overcome all Difficulties, considering the ardent Desire of that Prince to pass into *Italy*, which it would not be easy for him to accomplish, unless he joins with the King of *France*, or with us ; and tho' he should rather chuse to join with us, yet who can doubt that, if he were refused by us, he would not of Necessity agree with the King of *France*, having no other Way to attain the Completion of his Desires ? On the Side of the King of *France*, there seem to be greater Difficulties to obstruct this Union, but they are not such as, in my Opinion, can promise us any Security ; for he may be induced to take such a Resolution from Jealousy or Ambition, two powerful Incentives, and each of them often sufficient of itself to execute much

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much greater Movements. He is well informed of the pressing Importunities with which the King of the *Romans* solicits our Union, and measuring, tho' falsely, our Intentions and Desires merely by his own, may doubt that the Jealousy which we may entertain of being prevented by him, may induce us to prevent him; especially since he knows that we are well informed of what he and the King of the *Romans* have so long a time been treating together against us. He may also be apprehensive that we are incited by Ambition, since he cannot doubt that we are offered very large Shares; and what Means are sufficient to secure him from these Apprehensions? nothing being more apt to create Jealousy than the Increase of Dominion. It is possible also that he might be moved by Ambition, through the Desire which we know he has for the City of *Cremona*, which is excited in him and stimulated by the *Milanese*. Nor would he stop here, but the same covetous Ambition would induce him to seize on what formerly belonged to the *Visconti*, to which,

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as well as to the rest of the Dutchy of *Milan*, he pretends an hereditary Title, and which he can have no Hopes of obtaining but by joining with the King of the *Romans*; for our Republic is powerful in itself, and if we are attacked by the King of *France* alone, we shall always have it in our Power to join with *Maximilian*. And that this may possibly be in his Thoughts, or rather was never out of his Mind, we may rationally believe, because he never attempted to oppress us without this Union, which being the only Way that can conduct him to his desired End, ought we not to believe that at last he will attempt to effect it? Nor can our Fears be removed by considering that it would be an impolitic Resolution, for the Sake of two or three Cities, to introduce into *Italy* the King of the *Romans*, his natural Enemy, and from whom he can never meet with any thing else but Troubles and Wars, and no Friendship but what is uncertain, and even that uncertain Friendship must be procured and kept up by immense Sums of Money. For if he should entertain a Suspicion

that

that we shall unite with the King of the *Romans*, he will imagine that, by preventing us he shall not put himself in a State of Danger, but of Security. And tho' he should not be apprehensive of this Union, he will perhaps judge it necessary to confederate with *Cæsar*, in order to secure himself from the Troubles and Dangers which may arise from that Prince, assisted by *German Auxiliaries*, or other Adherents upon occasion. And supposing that his Dominions may possibly be in a more dangerous State when the King of the *Romans* shall once begin to set footing in *Italy*, yet it is the common Nature of Men to be most afraid of Dangers that are nearest, to set a greater Estimate on Things present than is due to them, and to pay too little Regard to Things future, and at a Distance, on a Presumption that Time and Opportunity will afford us sufficient Remedies against future and remote Evils. But granting that this Union will not be for the Benefit of the King of *France*, does it follow that we may be secure that he will not engage himself in it? Can we be ignorant how Men

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are blinded, sometimes by Fear, sometimes by a covetous Ambition? Do we not know the Nature of the *French*? That they are quick and ready for new Enterprises, and that their Hopes of Success are never less than their Desires? Are we not apprised of the Encouragements and Offers, sufficient to rouse the most peaceable Disposition, by which their King has been stimulated against us by the *Milanese*, the Pope, the *Florentines*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Marquis of *Mantoua*. All Men are not wise, nay very few are so; and he who takes upon him to foretell the Resolutions of another, must, if he has not a Mind to be deceived, consider with himself not so much what a wise Man would probably do in the like Circumstance, as the natural Parts and Disposition of the Person who is to take these Resolutions. He, therefore, who would judge what the King of *France* will do, must not so much attend to the Duties which Prudence requires, as to the natural Temper of the *French*, who are remarkable for their Restlessness, Levity, and proceeding with

with more Heat than Judgment in the general Course of their Undertakings. 1507.  
He must take into his Consideration the natural Qualifications of great Princes, which are not like our own, nor so easily resist their Appetites as those of private Men. For, accustomed to be adored in their own Kingdoms, where even their Looks are understood and obeyed, they are not only haughty and insolent, but cannot bear to be disappointed of obtaining what they imagine to be their just Due. And whatever they desire appears to them as such, for they persuade themselves that they can level all Impediments with a Word, and surmount the Nature of Things. Nay, they reckon it a Shame not to indulge their Inclinations on account of Difficulties, commonly measuring Affairs of greater Moment with the same Rule by which they use to proceed in Matters of less Concern, conducting themselves not by Prudence and Reason, but by Will and Caprice. These Defects being so common amongst Princes in general, none will say that the *French* are exempt from them. Have

A. D. we not fresh before our Eyes the Exam-  
1507. ple of the Kingdom of *Naples*, half of  
which the King of *France*, induced by  
Ambition and the want of Consideration,  
consented should go to the King of *Spain*,  
that he himself might enjoy the other  
**Half**; not considering how much he  
weakened his own Power, which was  
then sole among all the *Italians*, by in-  
troducing into *Italy* a King of equal  
Power and Authority with himself? But  
what need have we to go by Conjectures  
in Things where we may have Certainty?  
Is it not known to every Body that the  
Cardinal of *Rouen* treated with this same  
*Maximilian* at *Trent*, about dividing our  
State? And what more certain than that  
this same Negotiation was afterwards con-  
cluded at *Blois*? And that the same  
Cardinal went into *Germany* on the same  
Business, and brought back with him the  
Ratification of *Cæsar* confirmed with his  
Oath? These Treaties had no Effect, I  
confess, on account of some intervening  
Difficulties; but who shall secure us  
that, since the principal Intention con-  
tinues the same, some Means may not  
be

be found for removing those Difficulties which have hitherto disappointed them? It is your Part now, most worthy Senators, diligently to consider the imminent Dangers, together with the Imputations and Reproaches that, in the Face of all the World, will be cast upon our Senate, so renowned for Prudence, if, making a wrong Estimate of the present Condition of Affairs, we should suffer others to make themselves formidable, to our Cost, with those Arms which are offered us for our Security and Advantage. Consider, I beseech you, for your Country's Sake, what mighty Difference there is between carrying a War into an Enemy's Territory, and waiting till it be brought home to your own Doors; between treating about dividing the States of others, and waiting till your own be divided; between joining in Company against one alone, and remaining alone against many in Company. For if these two Kings join together against us, they will be followed by the Pope, on account of the Towns of *Romagna*, the King of *Aragon* will come in for the Ports of the Kingdom.

*A. D.* of *Naples*, and all *Italy*, some to recover  
<sup>1507.</sup> what they have lost, others to secure  
 what they possess. All the World knows  
 what has been treating so many Years be-  
 tween the King of *France* and *Cæsar*  
 against us. If we should, therefore,  
 arm ourselves against one who has en-  
 deavoured to deceive us, none will cry  
 out against us for Breach of Faith, but  
 all will account us wise; and, to our  
 great Commendation, we shall have the  
 Pleasure to see that Distress and Misery  
 fall upon him, which every one knows  
 he was deceitfully contriving to bring  
 upon us."

To this Speech *Andrea Gritti*, a  
 Senator of great Worth, made the fol-  
 lowing Reply:

*Speech of*  
*Andrea*  
*Gritti.* " If it were proper, in a Matter of  
 such Importance, to drop a dubious Ball \*,  
 I

\* In the Original *rendere Voto nel Boffolo de' non Sinceri*; to understand which it must be noted, that among the *Venetians*, Resolutions of State are determined by Ballotting, that is, by casting little Balls of Linnen  
 into Boxes. For this Purpose they have three Urns or  
 Boxes;

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I must confess, most illustrious Senators, that would be my Inclination, because there are so many Arguments on both Sides of the Question in Debate, that for my part I am often confounded. It being necessary, however, to come to a Resolution, which is not to be done without some Foundation, or certain Suppositions to be first made, our Business is to weigh those Reasons which contradict one another, and to follow those which are most probable, and have the strongest Appearance of Success. When I examine these Reasons, I can by no means comprehend why the King of *France*, either out of Apprehension of being prevented by us, or out of an ambitious Desire of those Towns that formerly belonged to the Dutchy of *Milan*, should

Boxes : one green for receiving the Balls of those who are for the Question, or for the Affirmative ; a Second white, for the Reception of the Balls of those who are of the Negative Side ; and the third Box, which is red, contains the Balls of such as are dubious, or unsatisfied as to the Merits of the Cause, or when, as the *Latins* express it, *Non liquet*. These Boxes are joined together, under one Cover, which has an Aperture in the Middle, into which a Person may put his Hand, and drop his Ball into any one of the three Boxes he pleases unperceived.

*A. D.* <sup>1507.</sup> should enter into an Agreement with the King of the *Romans* to induce him to make an Expedition into *Italy* against us. For the Dangers and Losses he must sustain by such a Step, are, without doubt, greater and more manifest than the Danger of our joining with *Cæsar*, or the Advantages that can be hoped from such a Resolution ; considering that, besides the Enmity and the vast Injuries they have suffered from one another, there is also a Competition of Dignity and States, which is wont to breed Strife and Hatred between the greatest Friends. To imagine, therefore, that the King of *France* will call into *Italy* the King of the *Romans*, is the same as to say that, instead of a quiet Republic, which has ever been in Peace with him, and pretends to no Cause of Difference, he would chuse to have for his Neighbour a King, of a most restless Spirit, whom he has injured, and who has a thousand Causes for contending with him about Dignity and Dominion, as well as for Revenge. Let it not be said that, because the King of the *Romans* is poor, irregular and unlucky, the King

A. D.

1507.

King of *France* has no Reason to be uneasy at his Vicinity : For the Memory of the antient Factions and Inclinations of the *Italians*, which is still kept up in many Parts, and especially in the Dutchy of *Milan*, is of such Influence, that a *Roman* Emperor can never set the least Footing in *Italy* but with great Danger to the Neighbourhood ; especially *Maximilian*, whose patrimonial State is contiguous to *Italy*, and is reputed a Prince of a great Spirit, and of much Skill and Experience in warlike Affairs, and keeps with him the Children of *Lodovico Sforza*, a powerful Motive with Multitudes to raise Disturbances ; not to mention that, in all the Wars which he may have at any time with the King of *France*, he may expect to have the Catholic King for his Ally, if for no other Reason, because they have both the same Successor \*. The King of *France* knows very well how powerful *Germany* is, and how much easier it will be to unite all that Nation, or Part of it, when once an Entrance

\* *Charles V*, who succeeded *Maximilian* in the Empire, and *Ferdinando* in the Kingdom of *Spain*.

A. D. <sup>1507.</sup> trance is opened into *Italy*, and the Hopes  
of Plunder shall present. And have we  
not seen how much he has always stood  
in fear of the Motions of the *Germans*, and  
of this poor King of the *Romans*, how  
poor and despicable soever he may be re-  
presented? And whenever this poor Prince  
comes into *Italy*, you may be assured he  
will be the Cause of a dangerous War,  
or of a precarious and expensive Peace.  
*Lewis* may possibly have a Desire to re-  
cover *Cremona*, and perhaps some other  
Towns; but it is not therefore probable  
that, for the Sake of a small Acquisition,  
he should subject himself to the Hazard  
of a much greater Loss. And it is more  
credible that he will proceed in this Case  
with Prudence than with Temerity, espe-  
cially if we take into Consideration those  
Errors which that King is said to have  
committed, for we shall find them to  
proceed from no other Original than a too  
eager Desire of insuring his Undertakings.  
For what else induced him to divide the  
Kingdom of *Naples*? What other Mo-  
tive prevailed on him to make a Cession of  
*Cremona* to us, but that he chose to faci-  
litate

## THE WARS IN ITALY.

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itate the Victory in those Wars? It is more probable then that he will, for the same Reason, now follow wholesome Advice, and his own Custom, rather than rash Counsels; and the more readily, since this Method will not leave him deprived of all manner of Hopes of obtaining his Ends at another Time, with greater Security, and a more favourable Opportunity, which Mortals are wont to promise themselves with too great Facility; because he who promises himself nothing but Changes and Revolutions in the Affairs of this World, is less mistaken than he that is persuaded of their Firmness and Stability. Nor am I terrified at what is said to have been negotiated at other times between these two Kings. For it is the Custom of Princes in our Age artfully to entertain one another with vain Hopes, and dissembled Negotiations, which after a Course of many Years together having taken no Effect, must be construed to have been either fictitious, or to involve in them some Difficulty, which could not be resolved, because the Nature of the Things was repugnant to the Removal

A. D.  
1507.

A. D. 1507. removal of the Diffidence between the Parties, without which there can be no Foundation laid for Conjunction. I am not apprehensive, therefore, that the King of *France* will precipitate himself into such imprudent Resolutions out of an ambitious Desire of acquiring our Towns; much less, in my Judgment, will he take such violent Measures, on account of any Jealousies he may entertain of us; for, besides the long Experience he has had of our Disposition, as there have not been wanting many Provocations and many Opportunities to induce us to break off our Confederacy with him, the same Reasons which render us secure of him, render him in like manner secure of us. For nothing in the World can be more pernicious to our Republic than for a King of the *Romans* to have States in *Italy*, as well because of the Authority of the Empire, the Increase of which must always give us Umbrages, as also on account of the House of *Austria*, which pretends a Right to many of our Towns, and of the Vicinity of *Germany*, whose Inundations are too dangerous to

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A. D.  
1507.

our Dominions; We ought then to proceed with our usual Caution, since we are universally reputed to be very deliberate in our Resolutions, and are accused rather of Slowness than Speed. I do not deny but that these Affairs might take a Turn different from the Opinions of Men, and therefore that it would be a right Measure, if it were easy to be put in Practice, to secure ourselves against it. But since that is not to be done without exposing ourselves to extreme Dangers and Difficulties, we are to consider that vain Fears and Distrust are oftentimes as prejudicial as too much Confidence. For if we enter into a Confederacy with the King of the *Romans* against the King of *France*, the War must be commenced and prosecuted at our Expence; besides which we must find Money to supply all the Prodigality and Extravagances of that Prince; for otherwise he would either come to an Agreement with our Enemies, or retire into *Germany*, leaving us encumbered with all the Burden and Danger of the War. We are then to manage a War against the most potent King of *France*,

Duke

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Duke

4. D. Duke of *Milan*, and Lord of *Genoa*, as  
1507. bounding in valiant Men at Arms, and  
furnished, as much as any Prince what-  
ever, with Plenty of Artillery, and whose  
Money would attract a Concourse of Sol-  
diers from every Nation. How then can  
it be expected that such an Undertaking  
should be attended with a happy Success,  
since there is Reason also to suspect that  
all the Potentates of *Italy*, who either  
pretend that we are in possession of what  
belongs to them, or stand in fear of our  
Greatness, will join together against us ;  
and the Pope above all others, who, be-  
sides the Prejudices he has conceived a-  
gainst us, would be very sorry to see an  
Emperor become powerful in *Italy*, on  
account of the natural Antipathy between  
the Church and the Empire, by which  
the Popes stand in as much Dread of the  
Emperors in Temporals as of the *Turks*  
in Spirituals. And this Conjunction would  
perhaps be no less dangerous to us, than  
one between the King of *France* and  
the King of the *Romans*, of which we  
stand so much in fear. For when Princes  
who pretend to be equal unite, Jealou-  
fies

sies and Contentions will easily arise between one another, by which means it often happens that those Enterprizes which were commenced with vast Expectations and Hopes of Success, become attended with a Multitude of Difficulties, and at last prove abortive. Nor ought we to postpone to all other Considerations, that tho' the King of *France* has indeed held Negotiations contrary to our Confederacy, yet it appears not from the Effects that he can be said to have failed us ; and therefore to take up Arms against him, cannot be done without incurring the Reproach of violating our Faith, to which this Senate ought to pay the highest Regard, for the Honour and Service it does us in our daily Transactions with other Princes. Nor is it our Interest continually to increase an Opinion, that we seek to oppress all our Neighbours, and that we aspire at the Monarchy of *Italy*. And I wish to God that we had hitherto proceeded with more Caution, because most of the Jealousies to which we are obnoxious at present, arise from our having given too much Cause of Offence on this

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1507.

A. D. Head in Times past. It will never be  
<sup>1507.</sup> believed that our Fears excite us to a new  
War against the King of *France* our Ally,  
but an ambitious Desire of gaining from  
him, by means of our Conjunction with  
the King of the *Romans*, some Part of  
the Dutchy of *Milan*, as we had before,  
in conjunction with the King of *France*,  
gained a Part from *Lodovico Sforza*; at  
which Juncture, if we had conducted  
ourselves with more Moderation, and not  
stood too much in fear of groundless  
Jealousies, the Affairs of *Italy* would not  
have been in the present Agitations, the  
World would have entertained a higher  
Opinion of our Modesty and Gravity,  
and we should not now find ourselves  
fallen under an Obligation of entering  
into a War with one or the other of these  
Princes, either of whom is more power-  
ful than ourselves. But since we are re-  
duced to the present Necessity, I am of  
Opinion that it would be more prudent  
for us not to relinquish our Confederacy  
with the King of *France*, than from a  
Motive of vain Fears, or Expectations  
of uncertain and dangerous Gains, to  
enter

enter into a War which we are unable to sustain alone, and in which the Associates proposed will, in the End, do be rather a Burden than a Help to us."

AN D.  
1507.

So great a Variety of Reasons on both Sides caused various Opinions in the Senate. But at last the most prevailing Argument with them was the Remembrance of that Inclination which they knew the King of the *Romans* had always shewn for recovering, at the first Opportunity, those Towns in their Possession, which appertained, as he pretended, either to the Empire or to the House of *Austria*. They came to a Resolution, therefore, to grant him a Passage if he came without an Army, but to deny him one if he intended to come with an armed Force. And in their Answer to his Ambassadors they endeavoured, as much as possible, to persuade them that they were induced to come to this Conclusion more out of Necessity, on account of the Confederacy which subsisted between them and the King of *France*, and the Condition of the present Times, than from an

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A. D.  
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Intention of offending him in any respect, adding, that by the same Confederacy they were obliged to assist that King with an express Number of Soldiers in the Defence of the Dutchy of *Milan*; but in that respect they would proceed with the utmost Caution, and in no manner go beyond the Bounds of their Obligations, and, except so far forth as they were constrained to act for the Defence of the State of *Milan*, they would not oppose him in any other Part of his Progress, but were determined, as far as lay in their Power, to perform all those kind Offices of Benevolence and Respect which were fit for a *Venetian* Senate to exercise towards so great a Prince, with whom they had always lived in Friendship and good Neighbourhood.

IT was on these Considerations that the *Venetians* resolved not to enter into any new Confederacy or Obligations with the King of *France*, being desirous to intermeddle as little as possible in the War between them, in hopes perhaps that *Maximilian*, to avoid plunging himself in new Diffi-

Difficulties, would let their Frontiers remain in Peace, and turn his Arms against the Duke of *Burgundy*, or the State of *Milan*. The King of the *Romans* now found himself cut off from all Hopes of getting the *Venetians* on his Side, and other Difficulties began to increase upon him, which he laboured to surmount by the Greatness of his Ideas, which always flattered him with Hopes that surpassed all Impediments. But the Execution of his Projects was greatly retarded for want of Money; for his own Treasury could not furnish him with a Sum sufficient to hire a Body of *Swiss*, and for so many other Expences; and as for the pecuniary Subsidies promised by the Diet, they were not enough to supply the least part of an all-devouring War; and the Foundation on which from the Beginning he had built much of his Hopes, by flattering himself that the Communities and Powers of *Italy*, struck with the Terror of his Name and of his Coming, would be glad to make Composition with him, and to furnish him with Money, began every Day to discover more

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and more Signs of Weakness. For that at first the Inclinations of many of these States were disposed to assist him, yet the Resolutions of the Diet of *Constance* not answering the Expectations of the Public, that this Enterprise was immediately to be undertaken by the whole Empire, and by almost all *Germany* on their own Account, and every one observing the mighty Preparations of the King of *France*, with the new Declaration of the *Venetians*, all the *Italian* Powers stood in Suspense, and durst not assist him with any thing of which he stood most in Need, for fear of greatly offending the King of *France*. Nor did *Maximilian* make his Demands at a Time when they most dreaded his Power, nor were they so reasonable as to induce them to a ready Compliance. He demanded of every one, according to his Condition, high Contributions, and, particularly, an excessive Sum of *Alfonso* Duke of *Ferrara*, whom he pretended to be indebted to *Blanche* his Wife, for the Dowry of *Anne* her Sister, married to the Duke, and dead many Years. Of the *Florentines*, with whom he employed

Maximi-  
lian's ex-  
orbitant  
Demands  
of the  
Italians.

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## THE WARS IN ITALY. 151

the Cardinal of *Brescia*, who had the Management of his Affairs at *Rome*, to <sup>D. A.</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>1507.</sup> treat with them about their Composition, he made the intolerable Demand of Five Hundred Thousand Ducats; which exorbitant Imposition confirmed them in their Resolution of temporizing with him, and waiting to see the further Progress of his Affairs. But as they were cautious of incurring his Displeasure, they excused themselves from sending their Troops to the King of *France*, who demanded them, alledging that they could not spare them, because they were employed in laying waste the Country of the *Pisans*, against whom they had made great Preparations that Year; for as the *Genoese* and other neighbouring States were afresh preparing to assist that People, they were under a Necessity of standing perpetually on their Guard against them.

CÆSAR, therefore, being disappointed in his Design of obtaining Money from the *Italians*, for he only got Six Thousand Ducats from the *Senese*, made Instances to the Pope that his Holiness

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1. D. would at least allow him to take the  
1507. Hundred Thousand Ducats which had  
been collected in *Germany* under the  
Name of a War against the *Turks*, and  
were for that Purpose repositored in that  
Country, and could not, without Leave  
of the Apostolic See, be converted to any  
other Use. He offered, at the same time,  
that, tho' he could not comply with the  
Request of his Holiness, of passing into  
*Italy* without an Army, yet as soon as he  
had restored to the Dutchy of *Milan* the  
Children of *Lodovico Sforza*, the Pa-  
tronage of whom, he pretended, he had  
undertaken, in order to render the People  
of that State more favourable to him, and  
his Passage less obnoxious, he would leave  
all his Army in that Dutchy, and take  
his Progress to *Rome* without an armed  
Force, to receive the Imperial Crown.  
But in this Demand he was likewise de-  
nied by the Pope, who seemed not to in-  
cline to either Side, and remonstrated that,  
in the present State of Affairs, he could  
not, without great Danger, provoke the  
Arms of the King of *France* against  
himself.

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MAXIMILIAN, however, surrounded with these Difficulties, as he was industrious, confident, and resolutely bent to compass his Ends, whatever Pains it might cost him, omitted nothing that might continue the Report of his Passage, sending Artillery into several Places on the Borders of *Italy*, and carrying on his Negotiation for hiring Twelve Thousand *Swiss*; but that Nation interposing various Demands, and proposing many Exemptions, had not yet given him any certain Resolution. He continued also his Sollicitations for all the Troops promised him, and posting in Person every Day from one Place to another, on various Expeditions, so puzzled the Conjectures of the Public, that through all *Italy* there was never known such a Diversity of Judgments on any Affair, some forming vaster Ideas than ever of this Enterprise, whilst others judged it to be rather declining than advancing. This Uncertainty he augmented by his own Management, for being very reserved by Nature, he never communicated his Thoughts to others,

A. D. others, and that they might be a greater  
1507. Secret to *Italy*, he ordered that the Pope's Legate and the other *Italians* should be removed to a Place at some distance from him, and closely watched.

THE Feast of *San Gallo*, the Term appointed for assembling the Troops, was now come; but a very small Part of them appeared at the Rendezvous at *Constance*, nor were there scarce any other Preparations to be seen but moving of Artillery, and the extraordinary Hurry and Diligence of *Caesar* in collecting of Money by different Means; whence it was uncertain with what Force, or at what Time, or to what Quarter he designed to direct his Motions, whether to enter *Friuli*, or, by the Way of *Trent*, into the *Veronese*; some imagining that he would make an Invasion into the Dutchy of *Milan* through *Savoy*, or by the Way of *Como*, because he was attended by many Exiles of that State; nor was it certain whether he would not make a Motion towards *Burgundy*: Wherefore powerful Provisions were made against him.

him in different Places where there was an Apprehension of his Approach. The King of *France* had sent a great Number of Horse and Foot into the Dutchy of *Milan*, and, besides other Preparations for the Defence of that State, had, with the Catholic King's Permission, of which *Maximilian* made heavy Complaints, enlisted Two Thousand Five Hundred Spanish Foot in the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Chaumont*, at the same time, doubting of the Fidelity of the *Borromei*, had suddenly seized on *Arona*, a Castle belonging to that Family on the *Lago Maggiore*. Into *Burgundy* were sent Five Hundred Lances under *la Tremouille*, Governor of that Province ; and, to divert the Thoughts and Forces of *Cæsar* into several Parts at once, the King was continually aiding and encouraging the Duke of *Guelderland*, who was infesting the Country of *Charles*, *Cæsar's* Grandson. Besides all this, he had ordered *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi*, with Four Hundred French Lances and Four Thousand Foot to *Verona*, for the Assistance of the *Venetians*, who had formed a Camp towards *Rovere*, under

1. D. under Count *Pitigliano*, of Five Hundred  
1507. Men at Arms and a good Body of Foot,  
to watch the Motions of the Enemy  
about *Trent*; and into *Friuli* they had  
sent Eight Hundred Men at Arms under  
*Bartolomeo Alviano*, who was not long  
before returned into their Service.

BUT the Danger first discovered itself  
in a Part where it was not expected; for  
*Polbattista Giustiniano*, and *Fregosino*, two  
*Genoese* Exiles, conducted to *Gazzuolo*, a  
Town of *Lodovico da Gonzaga*, which  
was a Fief of the Empire, One Thou-  
sand German Foot, who suddenly passed,  
with incredible Speed, over the mountainous  
and rugged Parts of the *Venetian*  
Dominions, with an Intention to cross the  
*Po*, and make their Way, through the  
Mountains of *Parma*, towards *Genoa*.  
But *Chaumont*, suspecting their Design,  
immediately ordered a good Body of Horse  
and Foot to *Parma* to oppose them on the  
Road; on which the Germans, losing all  
Hopes of surprising *Genoa*, returned back  
to *Germany*, but not with the like Speed  
or Hazard; for the *Venetians*, consulting  
the

the common Welfare, tacitly consented to their free Return. At the same time a great Number of *Genoese* Exiles were known to have been in the City of *Bologna*, which made the King of *France* very suspicious that this Affair had been concerted with the Knowledge of the Pope, of whose Inclinations he was jealous on many other Accounts. For the Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, encouraged *Cæsar*, tho' more out of his own Inclination than for any other Motive, to make a Descent into *Italy*; and, on the other hand, the Exiles of *Forli*, having marched out of *Faenza*, and attempted to enter *Forli* by Night, the Pope complained that the Design had been concerted between the King of *France* and the *Venetians*. To this it might be added, that a certain Friar, being imprisoned at *Mantoua*, confessed that he had treated with the *Bentivogli* about poisoning the Pope, and that some, employed by *Chaumont*, had encouraged him to execute what he had promised the *Bentivogli*. The Pope, therefore, having his Examination drawn up in an authentic Form and Manner, Plot a-  
gainst the  
Pope's  
Life. dispatched

1. D. <sup>1507.</sup> dispatched *Achille de' Graffi*, a *Bolognese*, Bishop of *Pesaro*, and afterwards Cardinal, to carry it to the King, and to make Instances that the Truth might be found out, and the Guilty punished for their Villainies. The principal Person concerned was suspected to be *Alessandro Bentivoglio*, who was by the King's Order summoned to *France*.

THESE Transactions, and this dubious State of Affairs, put an End to the Year 1507. But at the Beginning of 1508, the inconstant Temper of the *Bolognese* not suffering them to rest in Peace, *Annibale* and *Ermes Bentivoglii*, holding a Correspondence with some young Gentlemen of the Family of the *Pepoli*, and other Noble Youths, on a sudden presented themselves before *Bologna*, which endangered that City; for the Conspirators had before seized on the Gate of *St. Mammolo*, by which the *Bentivogli* were to enter the Town; but the People running to Arms, in favour of the Ecclesiastic State, the young Noblemen were intimidated, and abandoned the Gate, on which

The Bentivogli attempted to enter Bologna.

which the *Bentivogli* retired. This Insult rather mitigated than exasperated the <sup>1508.</sup> Spirit of the Pope against the King of *France*; for the King, to shew that he was much disturbed at this audacious Attempt, commanded *Chaumont* to be ready upon every Occasion to send all his Men at Arms to the Assistance of the present Establishment of *Bologna*, and not suffer the *Bentivogli* to harbour any longer in any Part of the Dutchy of *Milan*. About this Time *Giovanni Bentivoglio* died of a broken Heart, having never <sup>Death and Cha-</sup> been accustomed, before his Expulsion <sup>racter of</sup> from *Bologna*, to bear the Frowns of <sup>Giovanni</sup> Fortune; he had, for a long time, been <sup>Bentive-</sup> <sub>glio.</sub> accounted the most happy of all the Tyrants of *Italy*, and an Example of Prosperity. For during the Space of Forty Years, in which he governed *Bologna* at his own Discretion, he never had occasion to mourn the Death of any one in his Family. During this time he got conferred on himself and his Sons military Commands, Appointments, and extraordinary Honours from all the Princes of *Italy*; and always extricated himself with the

*A. D.* the greatest Ease from any difficult or  
<sup>1508.</sup> dangerous Affair. For this happy Success  
he seems principally beholden to Fortune,  
together with the commodious Situation  
of his City, being himself generally re-  
puted a Person of no extraordinary Ta-  
lents for Wit, Wisdom, or any other  
valuable Accomplishment \*.

IN the Beginning of this same Year,  
*Cæsar*, not chusing to defer any longer  
his entering upon Action, sent a Herald  
to *Verona*, to notify his Design of passing  
into *Italy* to receive the Imperial Crown,  
and to demand Quarters for Four Thou-  
sand Horse. To this Message the Go-  
vernors of *Verona*, after first consulting the  
*Venetian* Senate on that Demand, re-  
turned for Answer, that if his Majesty  
had no other Motive for his Passage but  
to get himself crowned, they should be  
ready to pay him the highest Honours :

But

\* *Giovio* says, that *Giov. Bentivoglio* ruled *Bologna*  
above Thirty Years, and lived to above Seventy; and  
that as to his own Qualifications he seemed worthy to  
govern that City, if his Sons, who were avaricious, in-  
jurious, proud, and cruel, had not incited their Father  
to dangerous and disorderly Acts of tyrannical Insolence.

But that it appeared, from Matters of Fact, that he had other Motives than what he owned; since he had conducted to their Frontiers an Army, provided with all manner of warlike Stores, and a Train of Artillery. *Maximilian*, in the mean time, being arrived at *Trent*, in order to open the Campaign, on the 3d of *February* ordered a solemn Proceſſion, at which he attended in Person, the Heralds of the Empire marching before him, and the Imperial Sword carried naked. After him in the Train came *Matteo Lango*, afterwards Bishop of *Gurce*, his Secretary, who from a raised Place made Proclamation in the Name of *Cæſar*, of his Resolution to pass into *Italy* in a hostile Manner, no longer naming him King of the *Romans*, but Emperor Elect, according to the Custom of the Kings of the *Romans*, when they go to receive the Crown. *Cæſar* ordered that no Person should go out of *Trent* that Day, and commanded a great Quantity of Bread to be baked, which, with a vast deal of other Provisions, and Wood for making Pallisades and Gabions, he sent down the

*A. D.**1508.*

A. D. River *Adice*, on a great Number of Rafts.

1508.

The next Morning, a little before Break of Day, he marched out of *Trent*, with Fifteen Hundred Horse and Four Thousand Foot, not of those Troops that were granted him by the Diet, but of his own Guards, and of those levied in his own Dominions, and took the Road that leads over the Mountains to *Vicenza*. At the same time the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, with Five Hundred Horse and Two Thousand Foot, all raised in his own Country, marched towards *Rovere*. But the next Day *Brandenburg* came back again, having done nothing more than presented himself before *Rovere*, and demanded Quarters, which were denied him. *Cæsar* however being entered upon the Mountain of *Siago*, the Foot of which is about Twelve Miles distant from *Vicenza*, took the Towns of the Seven Communities, that being the Denomination of those People who dwell on the Top of the Mountain, and who enjoy many Privileges and Exemptions from the *Venetians*, and having levelled abundance of Trenches which the Inhabitants had cut to defend them-

themselves, and obstruct his Passage, he <sup>A. D.</sup> ordered some Pieces of Cannon to be <sup>1508.</sup> brought thither. Here he tarried in expectation of better Success, till, on the Fourth Day after his Departure from *Trent*, he suddenly marched back to *Bolzano*, a Town more remote than *Trent* from the Borders of *Italy*, leaving all People in Amazement at his Fickleness, and ill-digested Counsels.

THIS poor and weak Effort of *Maximilian*, at his first setting out, raised the Spirits of the *Venetians*, who, besides enlisting a good Number of Foot, and sending for the *French* Troops which were at *Verona* under the Command of *Trivulzio*, to come to *Rovere*, were intent on making greater Preparations, and stimulated the King of *France* to do the same. *Lewis* was marching towards *Italy*, and had sent before him Five Thousand *Swiss* in his own Pay, and Three Thousand who were to be paid by the *Venetians*. For that Nation, *Maximilian* having no Money to give them, were easily persuaded to lett themselves to the *French*;

*A. D.* and yet, after they had been entered,  
*1508.* and received their Pay, they refused to  
march into the *Venetian* Dominions, pro-  
testing that they would not serve against  
*Cæsar* on any other Occasion than in the  
Defence of the Dutchy of *Milan*.

A GREATER Movement, of more unhappy Consequence, and designed as a Prelude to Events of much greater Importance, was making in *Friuli*. In this Country *Cæsar* ordered Four Hundred Horse and Five Thousand Foot, all raised in his County of *Tirol*, to make an Invasion, by way of the Mountains. This Body of Troops entered the Valley of *Cadoro*, and took the Castle and the Fort, together with the small Garrison, and the *Venetian* Governor. On Advice of this Motion at *Venice*, the Senate ordered *Alviano*, and *Giorgio Cornaro* the Provedi-  
tor, who were in the *Vicentine*, to march immediately to succour that Country. And the more to harass the Enemy on that Side, they ordered Four light Gallies, and other Vessels, to sail towards *Trieste*. At the same time *Maximilian*, who had removed

removed from *Bolzano* to *Bruneck*, turned off to the Road of *Friuli*, for the Convenience of the Passes, and that he might have room to extend himself, with Six Thousand Foot raised out of the Country ; then passing hastily through some Valleys, that were above Forty Miles within the Borders of the *Venetians*, he came into the Valley of *Cadoro*, whence he took the Road to *Trevigi*, and leaving behind him the Castle of *Bostauro*, which then belonged to the Patriarchate of *Aquilea*, he took the Castle of *St. Martino*, that of *Pieve*, and a Valley defended by the Counts *Savignani*, and other Places in that Neighbourhood. After this Progress, more becoming a Partisan than a King, he left Orders for his Troops to proceed towards the *Trevisan*, and at the End of *February* returned to *Inspruck* to pawn his Jewels, and make other Provisions for raising Money, which as he rather squandered than expended, no Quantity was sufficient to answer his Necessities. But understanding by the Way that the *Swiss* had accepted the Pay of the King of *France*, it raised his Indignation against

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*1508.*

*Maximi-  
lian's Ex-  
ploits in  
Friuli.*

*A. D.* <sup>1508.</sup> them, and he went to *Ulm*, a City of *Swabia*, with a Design to induce the *Swabian League* to lend him Assistance, as they had done, on another Occasion, in a War against the *Swiss*. He made Instances also to the Electors that he might have the Time for which the Auxiliaries were promised him in the Diet of *Constance* prolonged for another Six Months. In the mean time the Troops which he had left at *Trent*, to the Number of Nine Thousand between Horse and Foot, after Three Days Siege, took the Castle of *Bajocco*, which surrendered at Discretion. This Castle is situated over-against *Rovere*, and lies on the right Hand of the great Road from *Trent* to *Italy*, the River *Adice* passing between the Castle and *Rovere*.

ALVIANO put himself in Motion to succour *Friuli* with all possible Expedition, and having passed the Mountains, which were covered with Snow, after two Days he arrived near *Cadore*, where he waited for his Foot, which had not been able to keep pace with him. He possessed himself

self of a Pass, unguarded by the *Germans*,  
by which he entered into the Valley of *Cadoro* ; and the People of the Country,  
who chose to remain under the *Venetian*  
Government, taking Courage at his Arri-  
val, seized on the Passes of the Valley,  
by which the *Germans* might have re-  
treated. They seeing themselves inclosed,  
had no Hopes of saving themselves but  
by their Arms ; and, judging that *Alviano*  
would receive Reinforcements every Day,  
put themselves in order, and marched  
with the greatest Animosity and Resolu-  
tion to encounter him. *Alviano* not re-  
fusing to engage, there began between  
them a most cruel Battle, in which the  
*Germans* fought desperately, more with a  
Desire of dying gloriously, than in hopes  
of saving themselves ; and casting them-  
selves into one great Battalion, and placing  
their Women in the Middle, maintained  
the Fight stoutly for some Hours, but were  
at last forced to yield to the Numbers and  
Bravery of their Enemies, and were to-  
tally defeated, above a Thousand of them  
being killed on the Spot, and the rest  
made Prisoners.

A. D.

1508.

*Alviano*

defeats

the Ger-

mans in

Friuli.

A. D.

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AFTER this Victory *Alviano* attacked the Castle of *Cadore* in two Places, and took it. In the Assault *Carlo Malatesta*, one of the former Lords of *Rimini*, was killed by a Stone thrown from a Tower. The General improving the Opportunity, led his Army to *Portonavone*, which he took, and afterwards *Cremonsa*, situate on a Hill. After this he laid Siege to *Goritz*, situated at the Foot of the *Julian Alps*, strong by the Nature of the Place, well fortified, and with a Castle on a Place of difficult Ascent. *Alviano*, after making himself Master of the Bridge, planted his Batteries against the Town, which surrendered the Fourth Day upon Articles, the Garrison being in want of Arms, Water and Provisions. The Town being taken, the Governor of the Castle with his Garrison, on the Receipt of Four Thousand Ducats, gave up that Fortres. This Place the *Venetians* immediately fortified with many new Works, because it was in Nature of a Bulwark against the *Turks*, and a Barrier to prevent their passing the River *Lisontio*, for by the

Takes  
*Goritz*,  
*Trieste*,  
&c.

Com-

Commodiousness of its Situation it could easily intercept their Retreat. After the <sup>A. D.</sup> ~~1508.~~ taking of *Goritz* the General laid Siege to *Trieste*, which was at the same time attacked by Sea, and easily took it, but not without displeasing the King of *France*, who was not for provoking the King of the *Romans* too far. But the Place, by its Situation, and Command of the Gulf of *Venice*, lying very convenient for the Commerce of the *Venetians*, they were willing to take the Benefit of their good Fortune, and flushed with their Prosperity, were determined to pursue their Victory; and therefore, after they had made themselves Masters of *Trieste* and its Castle, they took *Portonone*, and then *Fiume*, a Town of *Sclavonia* opposite to *Ancona*; this Place they burnt, because it was a Receptacle for Ships that sailed in the *Adriatic* without paying the Duties required of them. The Army afterwards passed the *Alps*, and made themselves Masters of *Possonia*, a Town on the Borders of *Hungary*.

THESE were the Transactions in *Friuli*;

*A. D. Friuli*; but on the Side towards *Trent*  
<sup>1508.</sup> the German Army was arrived at *Calliano*,  
Opera. a Town rendered famous by the Defeat  
tions of of the *Venetians* above Twenty Years be-  
War on fore near that Place, when *Roberto da*  
the Side *of Trent*. *Sanseverino*, a very celebrated General of  
their Army, was killed. Here they at-  
tacked Three Thousand Foot of the  
*Venetians*, commanded by *Jacopo Corso*,  
*Dionigi di Naldo*, and *Vitello da Citta di*  
*Castello*, who were appointed to guard  
*Monte Brettonico*; and tho' that Post was  
pretty well fortified, they immediately  
abandoned it, and fled to a neighbouring  
Mountain. The Germans justly deriding  
the Cowardice of the *Italian* Infantry,  
after burning many Cottages, and levelling  
the Trenches on the Side of the Moun-  
tain, returned to *Calliano*. Encouraged  
by this Success, the Bishop of *Trent*, with  
Two Thousand Militia, and Part of the  
Troops that were at *Calliano*, went and  
laid Siege to *Riva di Trento*, a Castle  
situated on the *Lago di Garda*, in which  
*Trivulzio* had placed a sufficient Garri-  
son, After he had battered the Church  
of *San Francesco* for two Days, and in  
the

the mean time made some Incursions into the Villages about *Lodrone*, Two Thousand *Grisons* that were in the *German* Army, fell into a Mutiny on account of a small Dispute about their Pay, and plundered the Provisions of the Camp. Hence every thing falling into Disorder, and almost all the *Grisons* abandoning the Service, the rest of the Army, consisting of Seven Thousand Men, were obliged to retire. Their Retreat encouraged the *Venetians* to make Incursions to the neighbouring Places, but Three Thousand of their Foot going to burn some Villages belonging to Count *d' Agresto*, were put to flight by the Peasants, and about Three Hundred of them killed. After the Retreat of the *Germans* from *Riva* almost all the Troops separated, and the Cavalry, in number Twelve Hundred, retired from their Quarters at *Calliono* to *Trent*. On Easter Day in the Morning the *Venetians* made an Attack on *Pietra*, a Place Six Miles distant from *Trent*; but the German Troops that were in *Trent* coming to relieve it, the *Venetians* retired, and attacked the Castle of *Cresta*, a Pass of

Im-

A. D.

1508.

*A. D.* Importance, which surrendered before  
*1508.* any Succours from *Trent* could arrive.

But the *Germans*, who had re-established their Infantry, returned with One Thousand Horse and Six Thousand Foot to their Quarters at *Calliano*, which is distant a Bow-shot from *Pietra*; where Two Hundred Horse of the Duke of *Wirtemberg* quitted them. The *Venetians*, with Four Thousand Horse and Sixteen Thousand Foot, were come to lay Siege to *Pietra*, and had erected a Battery of Sixteen Pieces of Cannon.

*Pietra* is a Castle situated at the Foot of a Mountain, on the right hand as you go from *Rovere* to *Trent*. From this Castle runs a Wall of sufficient Strength the Length of a Bow-shot, which joins to the Banks of the *Adice*, and has in the Middle a Gate; he that is not Master of this Pass, cannot without Difficulty distress *Pietra*. The Armies encamped a Mile distant from one another, each having in Front the Castle and Wall, on one Flank the River *Adice*, on the other Mountains, and at their Back secure Places of Retreat. And because the *Germans* were in possession

Siege of  
*Pietra*.

possession of the Castle and Wall, they had it in their Power to force the *Venetian* Army to a Battle whenever they pleased, but could not be forced by them to fight. However, being much inferior in Number, they durst not try the Fortune of the Field, but only attended to the Defence of the Castle from the Attack of the Enemy, who plied their Battery against it. But one Day observing that the Cannon of the Besiegers were negligently guarded, they took the Opportunity, and making a Sally, furiously attacked the Battery, and routing the Foot that guarded it, bravely carried off two Pieces of Cannon. The *Venetians* therefore being disheartened, and judging that it would be Folly to continue the Siege, in which they had lost abundance of Men, drew off and retired to *Rovere*. The *Germans* also retired to *Trent*, and in a few Days most of them dispersed. The Troops of the Diet, which came some quicker, some slower, and never amounted all together to Four Thousand effective Men, after they had served out their Six Months, returned to their own Habitac-  
tions,

*A. D. 1508.* tions, as did the greater Part of the Militia, which had been raised about *Trent*, *Cadore*, and the adjacent Countries.

MAXIMILIAN was all this while employed in going from Place to Place to make Provisions for his various Projects, and therefore could not be present at these Operations. He prorogued the Diet of *Ulm* to a more convenient Season, and overwhelmed with Confusion, Shame, and Perplexity, took a Progress towards *Cologn*, none knowing for several Days where to find him. He was unable with his own Forces to stand the Shock, having lost all that he had in *Friuli*, with other neighbouring Towns, and found himself abandoned by every Body, and in danger of losing *Trent*, if the *French* had been willing to join the *Venetian* Army, and act offensively. But *Trivulzio* had Orders from the King, who was determined rather to pacify than provoke the King of the *Romans*, not to carry the military Operations any farther than was necessary for the Defence of the *Venetians*.

CÆSAR

CAESAR, in this desolate State, willing by any means to retrieve his Affairs from their dangerous Situation, had, immediately after the Defeat at *Cadoro*, sent *Preluca*, one of his Gentlemen, to *Venice*, to demand a Truce for three Months ; but his Demand was flighted by the Senate, who were not disposed to make a Truce for less than a whole Year, nor in any Manner at all unless the King of *France* were also comprehended in it. But his Disasters increasing, *Trieste* being lost, and his Affairs running to Ruin, the Bishop of *Trent*, as of his own Motion, sollicited a Truce of the *Venetians*, proposing it as a Foundation on which, it was to be hoped, they might hereafter establish a Peace. The *Venetians* answered, that since the Affair was not now proposed as to them alone, but in such a Manner that the King of *France* might be included, they were not averse to a Negotiation. This favourable Disposition produced a Treaty at *Trent*.  
Congress at Trent.

*Trivulzio*

*A. D.* <sup>1508.</sup> *Triuulzio* and *Charles Geoffroy*, President of the Senate of *Milan*, this last sent thither by *Chaumont*, on the Part of the King of *France*; and *Zacharia Contarino* the *Venetian* Minister. They all easily agreed on some Articles, as that the Truce required should continue for Three Years; that each Party should keep what he had in possession at present, with Liberty to build and fortify on the Places each had acquired. But the Difficulty was, that the *French* would have the Peace to be a general one, including the Confederates which each Party had out of *Italy*, and particularly the Duke of *Gelderland*, which was a Point very obstinately rejected by the Agents of *Maximilian*, who was fully bent on the Destruction of that Duke. They pleaded that the War was only in *Italy*, and therefore it was neither fit nor necessary to treat of any thing but the Affairs of that Country. The *Venetians* used all their Endeavours to procure Satisfaction to the King of *France*, but finding the *Germans* inflexible, they were inclined to accept of the Truce on the Terms to which the other had

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had consented ; for they wanted to get rid of a War which was wholly confined to their own Dominions, and they were willing to establish themselves, by means of the Three Years Truce, in the Possession of those Towns which they had conquered during the Quarrel. They excused themselves to the *French* with a very true Reason, which was, that since neither of the contracting Parties were obliged to any thing more than a mutual Defence of their States in *Italy*, which indeed was the real Foundation of this Confederacy, it did not belong to the Senate to concern themselves about ultramontane Dominions, which, as they were not bound to defend with their Arms, they were as little obliged to think of securing by a Truce. In order to end the Controversy, *Trivulzio* sent an Express with an Account to *France*, and the *Venetians* to *Venice*. An Answer came from the Senate that, if a Truce could not be effected otherwise, they should conclude it for *Italy* only, reserving <sup>Truce be-</sup> <sup>tween</sup> a Time and Place for the Accession of the *Maximi-*  
*lian* and King of *France*. But neither *Trivulzio* the *Vene-*  
nor the President would give their Con-<sup>tians.</sup>

A. D. 1508. sent, but made bitter Complaints that a Treaty should be signed without so much as waiting for the King's Answer. The President remonstrated, that a common Undertaking ought not to be finished but by common Consent, and complained of the little Respect shown to the Friendship and Alliance of his Sovereign. The *Venetians*, however, were not to be dissuaded by these Remonstrances from signing the Truce with *Maximilian*, the Contract running simply in their own proper Names, with an Agreement that, on the Part of *Maximilian* should be named, and taken for included and named, the Pope, the Catholic King, the Kings of *England* and *Hungary*, and all the Princes and Subjects of the Holy Empire in every Place; together with all the Confederates of *Maximilian* and of the forementioned Kings, and States of the Empire which should be named within Three Months; and, on the Part of the *Venetians*, were included the King of *France*, and the Catholic King, with all the Friends and Confederates of the *Venetians*, of the King of *France*, and of the Catholic King,

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King, in *Italy* only, and to be named within Three Months. This Truce was agreed to, on the 20th Day of *April*, and very speedily ratified by the King of the *Romans* and the *Venetians*, and they laid down their Arms, giving hopes that *Italy* would for some time enjoy the Benefit of this Tranquillity.

THE Wars now ceasing by Virtue of the Truce, the King of *France* imagining that the *Florentines* had not been heartily affected to his Interest, but rather disposed to take part with *Cæsar*, if he had met with Success in the Beginning of his Undertaking; and being sensible that the Ground of their Dissatisfaction was no other than an extreme Desire of recovering *Pisa* by any Means, and an angry Resentment that his Majesty, paying no Regard to their Devotion and Services, was so far from favouring them with his Arms or Authority, that he suffered the *Genoese*, his Subjects, to assist the *Pisans*; resolved to think on some Method by which they might obtain their Desire in an honourable Way. But not forgetting to consult his

A. D. own Profit, which was the first Point he  
1508. had in View, and judging that Fear would prevail with them to open their Purses sooner than Hope, he dispatched away *Michele Riccio* to *Florence*, to make his Complaints ; representing that he was informed of their having deputed proper Persons to make an Agreement with *Cæsar*, his Enemy ; that, under pretence of laying waste the Territory of the *Pisans*, they had assembled a powerful Army, without any Regard to the Condition of the Times, and the Jealousies and Dangers in which his Majesty was then involved ; that at so critical a Season, and amidst such great Motions and Preparations, they had always declined to make a full and positive Declaration of their Intentions, by which they had given his Majesty just Cause to doubt of their Designs in making these Preparations ; that when they were sollicited by the King to assist him with their Troops in so dangerous a Juncture, they had refused him, contrary to his Expectation : That however, from the Love he had constantly born to their Republic, and in Remem-  
brance

brance of the Services he had received from them in Times past, he was ready to pardon those late Offences, provided only that, in order to remove all Causes by which the Peace of *Italy* might be disturbed, they would not for the future molest the *Pisans* without his Consent.

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1508.

To these Complaints the *Florentines* made answer, that they were induced by Necessity to send a Deputation to *Cæsar*, not with an Intention to enter into an Agreement with him against the King, but from a sollicitous Concern, in case *Maximilian* should make a Descent into *Italy*, of securing their own Dominions, which his Majesty, in the Stipulations he had made with them, would not oblige himself to defend against *Cæsar*, but had taken care to have expressly mentioned in them the Clause *Saving the Rights of the Empire*; and yet they had entered into no Convention with *Cæsar*: That his Majesty had no just Reason to complain of the Army sent against the *Pisans*, for it consisted of no more than a moderate Number of Men as usual, and was sent

A. D. into the Field with no other Intention  
1508. than to prevent, as they had frequently  
done, the Enemies Harvest, and conse-  
quently could afford no just Cause of  
Suspicion: That this, together with the  
Assistances given to the *Pisans* by the  
*Genoese* and other neighbouring States,  
were the true Reasons why they had not  
sent their Forces to join those of the  
King; and tho' they were not obliged to  
do it, yet, out of that constant Devotion  
they bear to his Majesty's Name, if it  
had lain in their Power, they would not  
have omitted to have given him this  
Testimony of their Attachment, even  
without being asked: That they were  
surprised beyond measure that the King  
should desire them not to molest the *Pi-*  
*sans*, whom in comparison of the *Floren-*  
*tines* he had no reason to love and esteem,  
if he pleased to remember how they had  
acted against him in the Rebellion of the  
*Genoese*: That his Majesty could not in  
Justice prohibit them from making War  
with the *Pisans*, because it was expressly  
allowed in the Confederacy they had made  
with him. From these Beginnings arose an

Occa-

Occasion to treat about finding out some  
Means for inducing the *Pisans* to return  
under the Dominion of the *Florentines*. D. A.  
1508.

And it was imagined this might be com-<sup>Treaty of</sup>  
passed by taking proper Care that the *Pisa* to  
*Genoese* and *Lucchese* should lend them no *rentines*,  
Succours in their present Extremities, when  
they were distressed for want of Provisions,  
and their Forces so weak, that they durst  
not any longer venture without the Walls  
of the City; and their Peasants, who  
more numerous than the Citizens, were  
discontented at the Loss of their Harvest.  
And indeed they could not have hitherto  
supported themselves, had it not been for  
some Supplies of Money from the *Genoese*  
and *Lucchese*, which those who had the  
Management of Affairs in *Pisa* disposed  
of, partly in keeping some foreign Soldiers  
in Pay, and distributing the rest among  
the resolute Youth of the Citizens and  
Peasants, who by their armed Force  
struck a Terror into those who desired  
an Agreement with the *Florentines*, and  
by that Means preserved the City in  
Peace.

THIS Negotiation, begun by the most Christian King, was promoted by the Authority of his Catholic Majesty, who was jealous of its taking Effect without him. Wherefore as soon as he was informed that *Michele Riccio* was set out for *Florence*, he dispatched thither an Ambassador, who called first at *Pisa*, and in the Name of the King his Master, animated and encouraged the Inhabitants to hold out and defend themselves, expecting by their Obstinacy in yielding to sell them at a higher Rate. The Discussion of the Cause was soon after, by consent of both Kings, transferred to the Court of *France*, where his Catholic Majesty, without any Regard to his Protection so often assured, earnestly sollicited the Conclusion of the Affair. For he knew that *Pisa*, being without Defence, must of Necessity fall into the Hands of the *Florentines*. Besides he was not willing to involve himself at present in new Broils and Contentions, especially without the Approbation of the King of *France*; for tho' he had, immediately on his Arrival in *Spain*, resumed

the

the Government of *Castile*, he had not <sup>A. D.</sup>  
fully established his Authority, on account <sup>1508.</sup>  
of the Disaffection of several of the Gran-  
dees, and because *Maximilian* had not  
given his Consent in the Name of his  
Nephew. But as for the Affairs of the  
*Pisans*, after a tedious Negotiation in  
*France*, many Difficulties arising, and  
each of the two Kings seeking to appro- <sup>Breaks off</sup>  
priate the Price of the Sale to himself, the <sup>without</sup>  
Treaty broke off without coming to a <sup>Effect.</sup>  
Resolution \*.

\* The Avarice of the two Kings was the Cause that  
*Pisa* was not restored to the *Florentines*, who were, how-  
ever, prepared to disburse the Money if each King had  
not claimed a greater Share than the other. The Treaty  
now broke off was afterwards resumed and brought to a  
Conclusion on the Fourteenth of *March* in the following  
Year. *Porcacchi.*

*End of the Seventh Book.*

*Francesco*

FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI'S

HISTORY  
OF  
THE WARS IN ITALY.

BOOK VIII.

THE CONTENTS.

*Reasons which induced several Potentates to take up Arms against the Venetians. League of Cambray, and Commencement of the War. Defeat of Alviano in the Ghiaradadda. Loss of the Venetian Dominions on the Terra firma. Venetians bumble themselves to Cæsar. Pisans submit to the Florentines. Venetians under Conduct of Gritti recover Padoua, which is afterwards besieged by Cæsar. King of France departs out of Italy. War in Friuli; and against Ferrara, in which the Venetian Armament under the Conduct of Trivisano is routed on the River Po.*

Cæsar

Cæsar and the King of Castile enter into <sup>A. D.</sup>  
a Convention. Venetians absolved by <sup>1508.</sup>  
the Pope from their Interdict.

THE Disorders of *Italy* were of such a Nature, and her Strength so much exhausted, as not to be recovered by slight Remedies. For as it often happens, in Bodies abounding with corrupt Humours, that a Medicine prepared for removing the Distempers of one Part, generates others of a more malignant and dangerous Nature; so the Truce made between the King of the *Romans* and the *Venetians*, instead of producing that Quiet and Tranquillity which many thought they had reason to expect, gave Birth to innumerable Calamities that overwhelmed the miserable *Italians*, and was the Cause of more atrocious and much more bloody Wars than the passed. For tho' so many Wars and Revolutions had happened in *Italy* during the last Fourteen Years, yet the Disputes being often terminated without Blood, or mostly at the Expence of the Lives of the Barbarians engaged in them, the People suffered

*A. D.* suffered less than their Princes. But now  
*1508.* a Door being opened to new Contentions,  
*Miserable State of Italy.* there followed a Train of mischievous and cruel Events, which overspread the Face of *Italy*, and affected the *Italians* themselves, who saw nothing but Scenes of infinite Slaughter, Plunder, and the Destruction of Multitudes of Towns and Cities, attended with military Licentiousness, no less destructive to Friends than Foes, and a Violation of Religion, and a Trampling on Things sacred with less Reverence and Respect than was shown to profane.

THE Cause of so many Calamities, if you consider it in general, was, as it commonly is, the covetous and restless Ambition of Princes: But, in a particular View, they had their Original from the *Venetian* Senate, who by their Conduct removed the Difficulties that had hitherto suspended the Resolutions of the King of the *Romans* and the King of *France* from agreeing together against them. One of these Princes they had exasperated beyond measure, and made him quite desperate; in

in the other they had excited most bitter Resentments, or at least had furnished him with an Opportunity of discovering, under a Colour of Justice, what he had long meditated to put in execution. *Cæsar*, stimulated by the great Disgrace brought upon his Arms, and by the Loss he had received, when, instead of making Conquests of the States of others, he had lost a Part of his own hereditary Dominions, was for leaving no Means untried for retrieving so great a Dishonour, and repairing so considerable a Damage. And he was confirmed in this Disposition, after the Truce was made, by the imprudent Conduct of the *Venetians*, who could not forbear to provoke him by vain Parades as well as Actions ; for they received *Alviano*, on his Return to *Venice*, with the greatest Pomp, and as it were in Triumph \*. The King of *France*, who had at first given hopes of his ratifying the

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\* *Cornaro* and *Alviano*, on their Return, were received on board of the *Buccentaur*, a large Ship, an Honour never shown but to Princes, with the greatest Festival and Rejoicings. *Alviano* had a Grant of *Pordonone*, and was created a Nobleman of *Venice*. *Cornaro* held many Feasts in his House, and entertained all Comers. *Bembo*.

*A. D.*  
*1508.* the Truce, was found to be afterwards strangely altered. He complained that the *Venetians* had presumed to nominate and include him as an Adherent, and, after providing for their own Repose, had left him involved in the Troubles of the War.

THESE Dispositions of the two Princes began in a short time to manifest themselves: For *Cæsar*, not trusting in his own Strength, and entertaining no further Hopes that the Princes and People of *Germany* would shew an effectual Resentment of his Injuries, was inclined to join with the King of *France* against the *Venetians*, as the only Way to recover his lost Reputation and Territories. And that King, in whom his new Resentment had revived the Memory of the Injuries which he pretended he had received from the *Venetians* in the *Neapolitan War*, and who was also stimulated by his constant Desire of recovering *Cremona* and the other Towns which had long been in the Possession of the Dukes of *Milan*, had the same Inclination. In order therefore

to

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to remove all Impediment arising from Matters of lesser Moment, which might tend to obstruct their joint Attention to Affairs of much greater Concern, they began to treat about composing the Differences between the Archduke and the Duke of *Guelderland*, for whose Safety the King of *France*, on account of an antient Alliance, and of Benefits received, made strenuous Instances. This Disposition of the King was further animated against the *Venetians* by the Pope, who, besides old Offences, was incensed at a new Affront received from them. For it was by their Procurement, as he pretended, that the Exiles of *Forli*, who had taken up their Residence in *Faenza*, had made an Attempt to enter that City; and the Family of the *Bentivogli*, whom the King had driven out of the Dutchy of *Milan*, were harboured in the *Venetian* Dominions. To which it might be added that, in many Cases, they had shown less Respect than ever to the Authority of the Court of *Rome*, by which Proceeding they had highly disturbed the Mind of the Pope: That his Holiness having conferred

*A. D.* <sup>1508.</sup> ferred the Bishoprick of *Vicenza*, vacant by the Death of the Cardinal of *St. Piero in Vincola* his Nephew, on *Sixtus*, another of his Nephews, whom he promoted to the Dignity of Cardinal, with the same Benefices, the *Venetian* Senate, despising this Collation, had elected for Bishop of that See a Nobleman of *Venice*, who, when the Pope had refused to confirm him, had the Assurance to stile himself Bishop of *Vicenza*, elected by the most excellent Council of the *Pregadi*. The Pope being highly incensed at such Proceedings, first dispatched to the King one *Maxime*, Secretary to the Cardinal of *Narbonne*, and afterwards that Cardinal himself, who lately by the Death of the Cardinal of *Aus* succeeding him in his Bishopric, was called the Cardinal of *Aus*. The King granted them a very favourable Audience, and dismissed them with various Schemes, which his Holiness was to execute, either in conjunction with *Cæsar*, or else without him. But the Pope was more ready to make Complaints than to take Resolutions: On one Side he was urged by his ardent Desire to take up

*Arms*

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Arms against the *Venetians*; on the other he was restrained by his Fear of becoming too servile a Dependent on the Greatness of other Princes, but much more by his old Jealousy conceived against the Cardinal of *Rouen*, which made him very uneasy at the March of such powerful Bodies of the King's Forces into *Italy*; and other Incidents contributed to lessen the Confidence between the Pope and the King, for his Holiness having but a little before, without his Majesty's Knowledge, disposed of the Bishopricks of *Asti* and *Piacenza*, the King refused to suffer the new Cardinal of *St. Piero in Vincola*, on whom *Julius* had conferred the very rich Abbey of *Chiavavalle*, in the Neighbourhood of *Milan*, to take possession of it.

IN these Difficulties, tho' the Pope could not prevail on himself to take any Resolution, yet *Cæsar* and the King of *France* came at last to a final Determination. These Princes, who had been treating together, in the most secret manner, against the *Venetians*, appointed a Congress in the City of *Cambray*, to put

*A. D.* the last Hand to the Treaty. There appeared, on the Part of *Cæsar*, his Daughter *Margaret*, Governess of *Flanders* and of the other States that had descended to *Philip* in right of his Mother; she was attended by *Matteo Lango*, a most trusty Secretary of *Cæsar*, who was to assist her with his Counsel; and on the Part of the King of *France* the Cardinal of *Rouen*, who pretended that this Congress was held for treating of a Peace between the Archduke and the Duke of *Gelderland*, between whom they had made a Truce for Forty Days, taking the utmost Care that the true Reason should not come to the Knowledge of the *Venetians*, to whose Ministers the Cardinal gave Assurances, with most solemn Oaths, that his King would continue in his Confederacy with them \*. The Cardinal was followed by the Ambassador of the King of *Aragon*, his Eminence rather not forbidding than permitting his Attendance. For tho' that King had been the first Mover of these

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\* *Bembo* writes, that it was the King himself that several times gave his Word of Honour to the *Venetian* Ambassador, that nothing was negotiating in *Cambray* against the *Venetians*.

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Negotiations between *Cæsar* and the King of *France*, yet they had been afterwards carried on without his Participation, both Parties persuading themselves that the Prosperity of the King of *France* would be an Eyesore to him, and that any Increase of *Cæsar's* Power would afford him Matter of Jealousy with respect to his Government of *Castile*, and that therefore his Sentiments in this Affair would by no means correspond with his Words. At *Cambray* they came, in a very few Days, to an ultimate Resolution, without communicating any of the Particulars to the Ambassador of the Catholic King, till the whole was concluded; and the Day after, which was the Tenth of *December*, with solemn Ceremonies, and by the Oaths of Madame *Marguerite*, the Cardinal of *Rouen*, and the Spanish Ambassador, the Treaty was confirmed. All the Information they thought fit to give the Public on this Head was, that the Pope and every one of the contracting Princes had entered into an Obligation of perpetual Peace and Alliance between themselves. But the more secret Articles

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contained Matters of the highest Importance, had in them a Spirit of Ambition, and were in many Parts contrary to the Agreement which *Cæsar* and the King of *France* had made with the *Venetians*. And, as if it were possible by the Diversity of Words to alter the Nature of Facts, these Articles had the specious Cover of a very pious Preamble; in which was represented the common Desire of the Parties to commence a War against the Enemies of the Name of Christ, and the Impediments that were thrown in their Way by the *Venetians*, by their seizing upon the Lands of the Church. In order to remove those Hindrances, that they might afterwards proceed conjointly on so holy and necessary an Expedition, by the Exhortations and Counsels of the Pope, the Cardinal of *Rouen*, as Proxy of his Holiness, and by his Orders, and by Orders of the King of *France*, having had also the King of *France*'s Credentials; Madame *Marguerite*, as Proxy, and by Orders, of the King of the *Romans*, and as Governeis of the Archduke and of the States of *Flanders*; and the Ambassador

of

of the King of *Aragon*, as Proxy, and <sup>A. D.</sup>  
 by the Orders of the King his Master, <sup>1508.</sup>  
 had entered into a Convention to make  
 War upon the *Venetians*.

THE Articles of the Treaty were as follows: That each Party might recover <sup>Articles</sup> of the his Rights that were in their Possession; <sup>League of</sup> *Cambray*. namely, the Pope, *Faenza*, *Rimini*, *Ravenna*, and *Cervia*; for the King of the *Romans*, *Padoua*, *Vicenza*, and *Veron*a, which appertained to him as Emperor, and *Friuli* and *Trevigi*, which belonged to the House of *Austria*; the King of *France*, *Cremona* and the *Ghiaradadda*, *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, and *Crema*; and the King of *Aragon*, the Towns and Ports that had been mortgaged to the *Venetians* by *Ferdinando King of Naples*. That the most Christian King should go to the War in Person, and open the Campaign on the First Day of *April* next, at which Time also the Pope and the Catholic King would begin the Operations on their Side. And that *Cæsar* might have a just Cause not to observe the Truce between him and the

A. D. *Venetians*, the Pope should demand his  
1508. Assistance as Protector of the Church, after which Demand *Cæsar* should send him at least one General, and should be bound, within Forty Days after the King of *France* had begun the War, to attack the *Venetian* Dominions in Person. Whenever any of the Confederates had recovered what belonged to him, he should be obliged to assist the rest till they were also restored to the entire Possession of their Rights. All the Parties were obliged to defend one another in the Possession of their recovered Lands, if they were afterwards molested by the *Venetians*, with whom it was not lawful for any Particular to enter into an Agreement but by common Consent. Within Three Months might be named the Duke of *Ferrara*, the Marquis of *Mantua*, or whoever else that had Pretensions upon the *Venetians* for detaining any Part of their Lands; and the Persons, after Nomination, were to enjoy all the Benefits of the Confederacy, as well as the principal Parties, and might employ their own Force to recover what they had lost. The Pope was to admonish  
the

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the *Venetians*, under the most grievous Pains and Censures, to restore all that was usurped from the Church, and was to be Judge of the Differences between *Blanche Marie*, Wife of the King of the *Romans*, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, on account of the Inheritance of *Anne* her Sister, the Duke's Wife. *Cæsar* was to invest the King of *France*, for himself, for *Francis d' Angoulesme*, and their Male-  
Descendants, with the Dutchy of *Milan*, for which Investiture the King was to pay Two Hundred Thousand Ducats. Neither *Cæsar* nor the Archduke might during the War, nor within Six Months afterwards, undertake any thing against the Catholic King on account of the Government and Titles of the Kingdom of *Castile*. The Pope was to use his Exhortations to the King of *Hungary* to enter into the present Confederacy. Every one of the Parties was within Four Months to name his Allies, and any Friends, except the *Venetians*, or the Subjects of those who held any Fief of any one of the Confederates: And each of the principal contracting Parties was

*A. D.* to ratify this Treaty within Sixty Days  
*1508.* next ensuing. This general Agreement  
was attended with a particular one be-  
tween the Archduke and the Duke of  
*Gelderland*, in which it was stipulated  
that the Towns taken in the present War  
from the Archduke should be restored,  
but without any mention of those which  
were taken from the Duke.

Treaty  
ratified by  
Maximi-  
lian.

THE new Confederacy being thus set-  
tled, and every thing relating to the  
*Venetians* kept as secret as possible, the  
Cardinal of *Rouen* set out the next Day  
from *Cambray*, having first dispatched away  
to *Cæsar* the Bishop of *Paris*, and *Alberto*  
*Pio*, Count of *Carpi*, to receive of him  
the Ratification in the Name of the King  
of *France*. That Prince gave his Ratifi-  
cation without Delay, and confirmed it  
with his Oath, with the same Solemnities  
as had been observed in the Publication  
of it in the Church of *Cambray*.

IT is certain that this Confederacy,  
with all that is recorded in the Act con-  
cerning the Intervention and Orders of  
the

the Pope and the King of *Aragon*, was done without their Orders or Consent, <sup>A. D.</sup> ~~1508.~~ *Cæsar* and the most Christian King having persuaded themselves that they would after give their Consent, partly for their own Interest and partly on account of the present Situation of Affairs, it not being likely that either of them would presume to resist their Authority, and especially the King of *Aragon*. That Prince was by no means pleased with this Confederacy, for being apprehensive of the immoderate Increase of Power in the King of *France*, he preferred the Security of what he enjoyed in the Kingdom of *Naples* to the Recovery of that Part of it held by the *Venetians*, yet he laboured, by his ready Compliance, to make an outward Show of what was contrary to his inward Sentiments, and immediately ratified with the same Solemnities. The Pope was in greater Doubt and Perplexity, as he had Strugglings within himself, according to Custom, on one Side from his Desire to recover the Towns of *Romagna* and his Resentments against the *Venetians*; on the other, from his Fears of the King of

*A. D.* of *France*, besides his Apprehensions of  
1508. the Dangers that would accrue to himself and the Apostolic See from extending the Power of *Cæsar* in *Italy*. He thought it better, therefore, to obtain Part of what he wanted by Agreement, than the Whole by entering into a War. With this Design he attempted to induce the *Venetian* Senate to restore to him *Rimini* and *Faenza*; representing to them that the Dangers which hung over their Heads from the Confederacy of so many Princes would be greatly increased by his Accession to the League, as he could not then refuse to persecute them both with spiritual and temporal Arms. But if they would restore the Towns they had ravished from the Church since the Time of his Pontificate, by which his Honour had so much suffered, he should have just Reason to refuse ratifying what had been transacted in his Name, but without his Consent. And if the pontifical Authority were once removed, the Confederacy, which had laboured under many Difficulties, of itself would soon dissolve and come to nothing. Thus in

Pope's  
Offers to  
the Vene-  
tians.

com-

complying they might depend on his A. D.  
1508. employing his Authority and utmost Care for preventing the Increase of the Power of the Barbarians in *Italy*, which was no less dangerous to the Apostolic See than to the other States \*.

ON this Demand of the Pope the *Venetian* Senate held several Councils, in which some of the Members judged it a Point of the greatest Importance to separate *Julius* from the rest of the Confederates; others thought it a mean and unworthy Step, and not sufficient to prevent the War. But the Opinion of those who gave the soundest and wisest Advice would at length have prevailed, if *Domenico*

\* The Pope not only stood in fear of the King of *France* but also of the *Germans*, who, as soon as they had overcome the *Venetians*, he did not doubt, would bring him under their Yoke. His Holiness made this Demand of the *Venetians* by *Constantino Cominato*, an Enemy to the *French*, who went one Night to the *Venetian* Ambassador *Bodoaro*, and acquainting him with the Treaty between the Kings, offered the Pope's Assistance if the Senate would restore *Rimini* and *Faenza*; to which the Ambassador answered, That the Republic would not give her Consent. The Pope himself afterwards tried the Ambassador *Pisano*, who had the Incivility to make his Holiness the same Answer. *Bembo.*

*A. D.* <sup>1508.</sup> *nico Trevisano*, a Person of the greatest Weight and Character in *Venice*, and one of the Procurators of *San Marco*, which <sup>Speech of</sup> *Domenico Trevisano* is a Post of the greatest Honour next to that of Doge, had not stood up, and offered many Reasons, enforced with great Eloquence, to persuade them that it was much below the Dignity, and contrary to the Interest of their most renowned and respectable Republic, to restore the Towns demanded by the Pope; he said their Dangers could not be much increased by his Conjunction with the Confederates, nor lessened by his Separation from them. For tho', in order to make their Cause appear less dishonourable, the Allies had, in their Convention, used the Name of the Pope, they had in effect agreed without him, so that they would not, on that Account, become the flower or cooler in the Execution of their Resolutions. Nor, on the other hand, were the Arms of the Pontiff of such Value as to deserve purchasing their Assistance at so dear a Rate, if it be considered that whenever they shall be attacked by the other Confederates, a moderate Garrison will be sufficient

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cient to defend these Cities, which the cowardly Troops of the Church, proverbially called the Scandal of the Military, will neither be able to conquer without Help, nor any other Way contribute in the least to the Decision of the War. And amidst the Noise and Fervor of temporal Arms, the Reverence and Threats of spiritual Weapons were not regarded; nor was there any Reason to fear that they would hurt them more in this War than in many others, and particularly in their War against *Ferrara*, in which they proved of no Service for preventing them from obtaining a Peace honourable to themselves and disgraceful to the rest of *Italy*, which had with so great an Unanimity combined together against them, and at the Time when it flourished in Riches, Arms, and military Courage. And they had now just Reason to expect the same, for it was not at all probable that the great God would suffer the Effects of his Mercy and Severity, of his Pleasure and Anger, to lie in the Disposal of a proud and ambitious Man, addicted to Wine, and many other Indelicacies,

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cencies, to be dispensed according to the Dictates of his unruly Passions, without any Regard to Justice, or to the common Welfare of Christianity. That if no greater Dependence could be laid on Sacerdotal Faith in this Pontificate, than in many others, he did not see what Certainty they had that when *Faenza* and *Rimini* were surrendered the Pope would not join the Confederates for the sake of recovering *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, having no more Regard for his Faith than what properly belongs to the Pontiffs, who, in order to justify their Proceedings, among other Laws, have established it as a standing Rule, that the Church, in spite of all Contracts, Promises, or Benefits received, has a Power to retract, and directly contravene the Obligations to which its Prelates have solemnly bound themselves. *Maximilian* and the King of *France* indeed entered into the Confederacy with great Ardor, but the Inclinations of the rest of the Allies were otherwise disposed. For the Catholic King adhered to the League with Reluctance, and the Pope began to shew Signs of his wonted Irresolution

resolution and Suspicions. They had therefore no more Reason to be afraid of the League of *Cambray*, than they had of that other which *Maximilian* and *Lewis* had, with the same Ardor, concluded at *Trent*, and afterwards at *Blois*; for many Difficulties, in their own Nature almost unsurmountable, might obstruct the Execution of what they had resolved. The principal Care and Busines of this Senate therefore is, by all means, to separate *Cæsar* from this Confederacy, which we have good Grounds to hope may be effected with Ease, considering his Nature, his Necessities, and his inverterate and fixed Aversion to the *French*. And when once they had got him to break off from the Alliance, all Fears of a War would vanish; for the King of *France*, when abandoned by *Maximilian*, will no more dare to attack them than he has done in Times past \*.

In

\* To detach *Cæsar* from the Confederacy of *Cambray* was attempted by means of *Pietro Stella*, but the *French* Ambassadors prevented it. *Leonardo Porti* was afterwards ordered to make a fresh Essay for that Purpose; but *Maximilian* demanding Conditions dishonourable to the Republic, nothing further was done. *Bembo*.

A. D. In all public Affairs the Beginnings are  
1508. diligently to be considered, because afterwards it will be out of our Power to depart from Resolutions once taken, and in which we have a long time persevered, without the greatest Hazard and Disgrace. Their Ancestors as well as themselves had ever been attentive to all Opportunities of enlarging their Empire, and openly professed that they always aspired at greater Power. By this Conduct they were become odious to all, some fearing their Power, others grieved on account of what had been taken from them. That this Hatred would probably produce some great Change, was known long ago, but did not at that time deter them from embracing Opportunities as they offered. Nor can it now be a proper Remedy, in the present Danger, to begin with yielding up Part of what they possessed, since it was not to be doubted that such a Cession, instead of satisfying, would but inflame the Malice of their Adversaries, who would grow bolder at their Timidity. For as it has been a settled Opinion, of many Years standing amongst the *Italians*,

that

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that the *Venetian* Senate never part with any Thing that once falls into their Hands, who is there that will not be sensible, that to act the contrary and cowardly Part must proceed from the utmost Despair of making any Defence against these imminent Dangers? To resolve upon yielding any Place, tho' never so small, would be a Diminution of the Reputation and antient Splendor of their Republic. Hence Dangers must increase at a vast Rate; for it is more difficult, without comparison, for him who has once begun to decline, and give way to his Adversary to stop the Current, and preserve what remains even from lesser Dangers, than for another to maintain himself in his Rank and Dignity who, without betraying the least Intention to yield, makes a vigorous Stand against those who seek to oppress him. Hence it will be necessary either at once scornfully to reject the first Demands, or by consenting to expect that they will be followed by many others, which must be satisfied, whence must ensue, in a very short time, the Subversion of this Empire, and con-

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sequently the Loss of their present Liberty. The *Venetian* Republic had in the Days of their Fathers, and in their own Times, been engaged in very burdensome Wars with Christian Princes, and by constantly maintaining a Firmness and Generosity of Soul, had brought them to a very glorious Issue. Under the present Difficulties, even tho' they should perhaps appear to be greater, they ought to hope for the same Success. For now both their Power and Authority were greater than ever, and in the Wars of many Potentates united against one, the Terror is generally greater than the Effects, because the first Ardor and Impetuosity soon begins to cool, and a Diversity of Opinions, which must arise between them, creates a mutual Distrust of one another. This Senate had also Reason to trust that, besides the Provisions and Remedies which they could furnish of themselves, God, the most just Judge, would not forsake a Republic founded and subsisting in perpetual Liberty, which was the Ornament and Splendor of *Europe*; nor permit that the Ambition of Princes,

Princes, under a false Colour of preparing War against the Infidels, should glory in <sup>A. D.</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>1508.</sup> the Ruins of that City, which had, with such Piety and Religion, been, for so many Years, the Defence and Bulwark of the whole Christian Commonwealth.

THIS Speech of *Domenico Trevisano* had a wonderful Effect on the Minds of the Majority, and, as it had frequently happened of late Years, so now, by a sort of Fatality which attended that Senate, contrary to the Opinion of many Senators of great Prudence and Authority, the worst Counsel was embraced and followed. The Pope therefore, who had delayed to ratify the League till the last Day, now signed it, but with an express Declaration, that it was his Intent to commit no Act of Hostility against the <sup>Pope ratifies the</sup> *Venetians*, till the King of *France* had <sup>fies the</sup> *League*. himself begun the War.

THUS ended the Year 1508, in which the Seeds of mighty Wars were plentifully sown. At the same Time the Affairs of the *Pisans* were greatly distressed,

*A. D.* and every Day involved in greater Diffi-  
culties. For the *Florentines*, besides de-  
priving them of their Harvest in the pre-  
ceding Summer, and continually scouring  
the Country with their Troops home to  
the very Gates of *Pisa*, had, in order to  
prevent all Supplies of Provisions by Sea,  
hired the Son of *Bardella* of *Porto Venere*,  
with some Vessels, to cruise along the  
Coast. Hence the *Pisans*, being in a  
manner besieged by Sea and Land, and,  
by reason of their Poverty, incapable of  
hiring any Ships or foreign Soldiers, and  
but slowly assisted by their Neighbours,  
had almost lost all Hopes of supporting  
themselves. The *Genoese* and *Lucchese*,  
being moved with their Distress, took a  
Resolution to revive their Hopes, by con-  
veying into *Pisa* a large Quantity of  
Corn, which being put on board of a  
great Number of Barks, under Convoy  
of two *Genoese* Ships and two *Galeons*  
arrived at *Spetie*, and from thence at  
*Viareggio*, from whence it was, by the  
Direction of the *Pisans*, to be conveyed  
in fourteen *Brigantines*, and a Number  
of Lighters into *Pisa*. But the *Floren-*  
*tines*

*tines* were resolved to oppose this Enter- A. D.  
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prise, for on the Success or Mistransport  
of this Convoy of Corn depended their  
Hope or Despair of being Masters of  
*Pisa* this Year. For this Purpose they  
reinforced their Fleet with an *English*  
Ship, which happened to lie in the Port  
of *Livorno*, and with some other Sloops  
and Brigantines; then in order to assist,  
as much as possible, their naval Arma-  
ment in its Operations with their Land  
Forces, they ordered all the Horse and a  
good Number of Foot, suddenly got to-  
gether from their Dominions, to repair  
to all those Parts, by which the Vessels of  
the Enemy might enter the *Arno*, either  
by its Mouth, or by the Mouth of the  
dead River, and so make their Way up  
to *Pisa*. The Enemy's Fleet proceeded  
to the Mouth of the *Arno*, but the Ships  
of the *Florentines* being drawn up between  
the Mouth of that and the dead River, and  
their Land Forces having possessed them-  
selves of all the convenient Posts, and  
planted Cannon on the Banks of all Parts  
of the River by which they were to pass,  
the Enemy judged it impracticable to

A. D. 1509. proceed any further, and retired to the *Riviera of Genoa*, after losing three of their Brigantines laden with Corn. This Success seeming to promise a speedy Reduction of *Pisa* for want of Victuals, the *Florentines*, the more effectually to prevent all Supplies of Provisions from passing up the River, laid a wooden Bridge over the *Arno*, and fortified it with a Redoubt at each End. At the same time, to deprive the *Pisans* of all Assistance from their Neighbours, they made an Agreement with the *Lucchesi*, having first, in order to repress the Audaciousness of that People, detached Part of their Troops from *Cascina*, with Orders to Plunder the Port of *Viareggio*, and the Magazines, in which were a great Quantity of Silks belonging to the Merchants of *Lucca*. The *Lucchesi*, terrified at this rough Proceeding, sent Ambassadors to *Florence*, who at last came to this Agreement, That between the two Republics there should be a League defensive for three Years, in which the *Lucchesi* were expressly excluded from the Liberty of giving any Manner of Assistance

ance

ance to the *Pisans*. This Confederacy, <sup>A. D.</sup> ~~1509.~~  
if the *Florentines* should recover *Pisa* in the Space of one Year, was declared to be prolonged for other twelve Years: <sup>League</sup> ~~between~~ That during this Confederacy the *Florentines* should not, without Prejudice how-<sup>rentines</sup> ever to their Rights, molest the *Lucchese* <sup>and</sup> *Lucchese*. in the Possession of *Pietra Santa* and *Mutrone*.

But what was of much greater Moment for facilitating the Acquisition of *Pisa*, was the Capitulation made by the *Florentines* with their most Christian and Catholic Majesties, which, in a Negotiation that lasted many Months, had met <sup>Treaty</sup> ~~between~~ <sup>the Kings</sup> ~~of France~~ with many Difficulties on the part of the *Florentines*, who were apprehensive, from <sup>gon</sup> ~~the Flo-~~ Experience of what had past, that it <sup>rentines</sup> was only designed as an Expedient to draw from them a large Sum of Money, and then leave the Affairs of the *Pisans* upon the same Footing; on the other hand, the King of *France* interpreted this Delay as artfully procured by the *Florentines*, in hopes that the *Pisans*, whose Extremities were very well known, would

A. D. <sup>1509.</sup> surrender of themselves. And as he did not design that they should by any means recover *Pisa* without paying him a Reward, he had commanded *Bardella*, who was his Subject, to quit the Service of the *Florentines*, and ordered *Chaumont* to send Six Hundred Lances from *Milan* to the Assistance of the *Pisans*. But now all Doubts and Difficulties being removed, an Agreement was concluded on the following Conditions.

Articles  
of the  
Treaty.

THAT neither the King of *France* nor the King of *Aragon* should grant any Favour or Assistance to the *Pisans*, but take effectual Care that no Provisions, nor Supplies of Money, Troops, or any other Necessaries should be sent to *Pisa*, from the Places in subjection to them, or from their Confederates, or from those under their Protection: That the *Florentines*, in Case they should recover *Pisa* within the Year next ensuing, should pay at certain Times, to each of the two Kings, Fifty Thousand Ducats; and in that Case a League was declared to subsist between the Parties for three Years, to com-

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commence from the Day of the Recovery, by which the *Florentines* should be obliged to furnish Three Hundred Men at Arms for the Defence of the States of the two Kings in *Italy*; and, on the other hand, each of those Monarchs on Demand should supply them with at least Three Hundred Men at Arms for their own Defence. To these Articles, which concerned all the Parties, it was necessary that some new Obligation should be added, without the Knowledge of the Catholic King, by which the *Florentines* were bound to pay the King of *France*, at times, and on the same Conditions as aforesaid, Fifty Thousand Ducats more; besides which they were brought under a Promise to present the Ministers of the two Kings with Twenty-five Thousand Ducats, the greatest Part of which was to be distributed at the Discretion of the Cardinal of *Rouen*.

This Agreement was indeed very expensive to the *Florentines*, but universally reputed very dishonourable to those Kings, one of whom was induced by Money to abandon

1. D. abandon a City which he had oftentimes  
<sup>1509.</sup> acknowledged he had received into his Protection, and of which, as it appeared afterward, the Great Captain, in its voluntary Surrender, had accepted the Dominion in his Name ; the other, forgetting all his former Engagements, so often repeated to the *Florentines*, either sold the just Liberty of the *Pisans* for a vile Price, or constrained the *Florentines* to purchase of him the Liberty to recover what justly belonged to them. So great is the Power of Gold in our Days as to outweigh all Regard to Honour and Decency.

*French Prepara-  
tions a-  
gainst the  
Venetians.* **B**UT the Affairs of the *Pisans*, which formerly used to attract the Eyes of all *Italy*, were at this Juncture but little regarded, the Attention of the Public being engaged in the expectation of greater Events. For the League of *Cambray* being ratified by all the Confederates, the King of *France* began to make vast Preparations. And tho' he had not as yet proceeded to Protests and Menaces of War, the Affair however could no longer

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be dissembled, and therefore the Cardinal of *Rouen*, before the whole Council, complained to the *Venetian* Ambassador in strong Terms, that their Senate, despising their League with the King, and his Friendship, had fortified the Abbey of *Ceretto* in the Territory of *Crema*, in which Place there had been formerly a Fortres, which was demolished by the Articles of the Peace concluded in the Year 1454 between the *Venetians* and *Francesco Sforza* the then Duke of *Milan*, with a Condition that the *Venetians* should never hereafter erect any Fortification there; to the Articles of which the Peace made between them and the King did refer in this and in many other Particulars. The King of *France* a few Days after arrived at *Lions*, his Troops were already on their March to pass the Mountains, and Six Thousand *Swiss* in his Pay were preparing to make a Deiscent at the same time into *Italy*. To these his own Forces was added the Assfistance of others. From the *Genoese* he was furnished with four Ships; of the *Florentines* he got Fifty Thousand Ducats, in part of what would

be-

*A. D.* <sup>1509</sup> become payable after the Acquisition of *Pisa*. The Dutchy of *Milan*, where the Inhabitants longed for the Restoration of their Towns that were in the Possession of the *Venetians*, made him a Present of One Hundred Thousand Ducats, and a Multitude of Gentlemen and Fieholders of that State provided themselves with Horses and Arms, and formed a Body splendidly equipped for attending the King's Person to the War.

*Venetians  
prepare  
for their  
Defence.*

ON the other side the *Venetians*, with a great deal of Spirit and Resolution, prepared for resisting the Force of such formidable Enemies, employing their Money and Authority, and exerting the whole Strength of the State in making Provisions worthy of so great a Republic. And they proceeded with the more Alacrity, as it was very probable that if they could sustain the Brunt of the first Attack, the ill-compacted Union of these Princes would easily fall asunder and dissolve. And, to the immortal Glory of the Senate it must be spoken, that the same Ardor for Defence appeared in those Members who had

had before counselled them, tho' in vain, to take better Measures, and to use their prosperous Fortune with Moderation, as in those who had been Authors of the contrary Advice. For preferring the Good of the Public to private Ambition, they were not sollicitous to increase their own Authority by reproaching their Brethren with their pernicious Counsels, nor did they oppose those Remedies which were used for removing the Dangers that had been occasioned by the Imprudence of others. And considering that almost all Christendom was in Arms against them, they unanimously used their utmost Efforts to break so formidable a Union. Repenting, therefore, that they had despised the Opportunity of separating the Pontiff from the Confederacy, and entertaining good Hopes that he would be contented with the Restitution of *Faenza* alone, they revived their Negotiations with his Holiness, and would have entered on new Treaties with *Cæsar* and the Catholic King. But as for the King of *France*, either out of Hatred, or Despair of making any Impression upon him,

4. D. him, they did not offer to treat with him.

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But the Pope was no longer at Liberty to accept what he had at first desired, and the Catholic King, tho' perhaps he wanted not Inclination, had it not in his Power to turn the others. And *Cæsar* had conceived such an implacable Hatred against the Name of the *Venetians*, and was so far from coming to an Agreement, that he would not so much as hear their Offers, and refused to admit *Giam-piero Stella*, their Secretary, deputed to him as Plenipotentiary, into his Presence.

THE *Venetians* therefore employed all their Thoughts in providing for their Defence by Arms, for which Purpose they made great Levies of Horse and Foot in every Quarter, and fitted out great Numbers of Ships and smaller Vessels for guarding the Coasts of *Romagna* and the Towns of *Puglia*, and to command the Lake of *Garda* and the *Po*, with other neighbouring Places and Rivers, by which they apprehended some Molestation from the Duke of *Ferrara* and the Marquis of *Mantoua*. But besides the Menaces of

human

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human Powers, they were alarmed with a Multitude of Accidents, either fatal or fortuitous. A Thunderbolt fell upon the <sup>Prodigies</sup> Castle of *Brescia*; a Bark sent by the <sup>at Venice.</sup> Senate with Money to *Ravenna* sunk with Ten Thousand Ducats. The Archive, a Building full of Records relating to the Republic, on a sudden fell entirely to the Ground. But what put them all in the greatest Consternation was, that on a Day, and at the very Hour when the great Council was assembled, either by Chance or Treachery, a Fire broke out in the Arsenal, in the Room where the Salt-<sup>Fire in the Arsenal.</sup> petre was kept, and tho' an infinite Number of Men ran thither to extinguish it, yet assisted by the Wind, and the Combustibleness of the Matter, it consumed Twelve light Gallies, with a vast Quantity of Stores \*. As an Addition to their Misfortunes, the Senate having taken into their Pay *Giulio* and *Renzo Orfani* and *Troilo Savello* with Five Hundred Men at Arms and Three Thousand Foot, the Pope,

\* *Bembo* writes, that the Fire was occasioned by a Spark falling into a Barrel of Gunpowder as they were nailing it.

D. A. Pope, by very severe Orders, charged  
1509. them, as Feudataries and Subjects of the  
Church, not to leave the Territory of  
*Rome*; and encouraged them not to restore  
Fifteen Thousand Ducats they had re-  
ceived of the *Venetians* in advance, pro-  
mising to set that Sum against other Sums  
in which that People were indebted to  
the Apostolic See, for what they had  
collected from the Towns in *Romagna*\*.

THE Preparations of the Senate were  
chiefly directed towards the Borders of  
the *French* Dominions, from whence they  
expected the most speedy and powerful  
Attack. For the King of *Aragon*, tho'  
he had promised the other Confederates  
to do mighty Feats, contented himself,  
according to Custom, with making a  
Shew of Preparations, but performed  
nothing of Moment. *Cæsar* was em-  
ployed in *Flanders*, where he was en-  
deavouring to procure a free Gift from  
that People, who were the Subjects of  
his Grandson, and did not suppose the

War

\* The Pope also promised to take off the Interdict from  
the *Orsini*, and to support that Family.

War would commence at the time appointed, well knowing that the Pope, <sup>A. D:  
1509.</sup> depending more on the Success of others than his own Strength, would regulate his Motions according to the Progress of the Allies.

IT was not doubted but that the first Effort of the *French King* would be in the *Ghiaradadda*, by passing the River *Adda* near to *Casciano*; the *Venetians* therefore assembled their Forces at *Ponte Vico* on the River *Oglio*. The Captain General of their Army was Count *Pitigliano*, and *Bartolomeo Alviano* had the Title of Governor, *Giorgio Cornaro*, and *Andrea Gritti* were the Proveditors \*, both illustrious Noblemen, greatly honoured for their personal Accomplishments, and for the Glory which they had acquired in the preceding Year, one of them by his Success in *Friuli*, and the other by the Resistance he made to the *Germans* at *Rovere*.

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\* The Proveditors represented the Senate, and the General was not allowed to go on any Enterprize of Importance without the Consent of at least one of them; but if Time permitted, an Express was first to be sent to *Venice* to consult the Senate.

*A. D.* A Council being held to consult on the  
*1509.* Operations of the War, the Opinions

*Venetians hold a Council of War.* were various, not only between some of the principal Officers, but between the Captain General and the Governor. For

*Opinion of Alviano.* *Alviano*, who was of a fierce and daring Temper, and grown proud with the prosperous Success of the preceding Year, being ever ready to embrace all Opportunities, and incredibly quick in taking his Resolutions, as well as putting them in Execution, advised to carry the War into the Enemy's Country, rather than to wait till it was brought into their own Dominions; and to attack the Dutchy of *Milan*, before the *French* King should arrive in *Italy*. But Count *Pitigliano*,

*Of Count Pitigliano.* whether the Vigour of his Spirit was impaired by Age, as *Alviano* said, or whether, instructed by long Experience, he had with more Prudence considered the Dangers, was by no means for tempting of Fortune, except on very good Grounds; and was therefore of Opinion, that neglecting the Towns of the *Ghiaradadda*, which were of little Importance towards a Decision of the War, the Army should entrench them-

themselves at the Town of *Orci*, as *Fran-*  
*cesco Carmignuola* and *Giacopo Piccinino*, <sup>A. D.</sup>  
<sup>1509.</sup> two famous Captains in their Times, had  
formerly done in the Wars between the  
*Venetians* and the *Milanese*: That *Orci*  
was an advantageous Post, of great  
Strength by its Situation between the  
Rivers *Oglio* and *Seria*, and very conve-  
nient for covering all the Towns of the  
*Venetian* Territory. For if the *French*  
should venture to attack them in their  
Entrenchments, from the Strength of  
their Situation they might almost assure  
themselves of the Victory; and if they  
chose to lay Siege to *Cremona*, *Crema*,  
*Bergamo*, or *Brescia*, they would be at  
liberty, for the Defence of these Places,  
to decamp and approach with their Army  
to the Besiegers; then, by taking possession  
of some secure and advantageous Post,  
they might with their numerous light  
Horse and *Stradiotti* infest and harass  
them, by intercepting their Provisions and  
warlike Stores, so as to prevent them from  
taking any Town of Importance, and,  
without putting themselves in the Power  
of Fortune, easily defend the *Venetian*

*A. D.* 1509. State from the powerful and furious Attack of the King of *France*.

Both  
rejected  
by the  
Senate.

BOTH these Counsels were rejected by the Senate ; that of *Alviano* as too bold, and that of the Captain General as favouring too much of Timidity, considering the Nature of the present Dangers. The Senate would indeed have been better pleased, if, according to the antient Custom of their Republic, they could have proceeded securely, and have put themselves as little as possible out of their own Power \*. But on the other hand, if, at the Time when almost all their Force was employed in refisting the King of *France*, the State should be invaded with a powerful Army by the King of the *Romans*, with what Arms, under what Generals, and with what Forces could they pretend to oppose him ? On this Consideration, those Measures, which in themselves might carry a greater Appearance of Certainty and Security, would at last in effect prove the most uncertain and dangerous. For this Reason they

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\* That, is by not giving the General full Power to act according to Discretion.

embraced, as it often happens in contrary Opinions, a Medium betwixt both <sup>A. D.</sup> ~~1509.~~ Counsels, and resolved that the Army should encamp behind the River *Adda*, to prevent the Enemy from passing that River and ravaging the *Ghiaradadda*; but gave express Orders and Directions to avoid coming to an Engagement, without Necessity, or the fairest Hopes of Success.

BUT the King of *France* had taken a quite different Resolution, and was ardently desirous that the Armies should come to a pitched Battle. That Monarch, accompanied by the Duke of *Lorrain*, and all the chief of the Nobility of *France*, as soon as he had passed the Mountains, sent his Herald *Monjoye* to denounce War to the *Venetian* Senate; and that it might so much the sooner be said to be denounced, he was commissioned to make the same Declaration to the *Venetian* Magistrates of *Cremona* as he passed through that Place \*. And tho' the *French* Army

\* *Monjoye* was introduced into the *Venetian* Senate on the

*A. D.* was not as yet all assembled, and it had  
*1509.* been determined not to enter upon Action  
before the King was arrived at *Casciano*,  
yet, either by the Sollicitations of the  
Pope, who complained that the Time  
appointed by the Convention was elapsed,  
or that the Term of Forty Days, in which  
*Gæsar* was to enter upon the War after  
the King of *France* had opened the Cam-  
paign, might the sooner begin, the first  
Resolution was altered, and *Chaumont* was  
ordered to take the Field before the *Vene-  
tian* Troops, which were not yet all got  
together, had left their Quarters at *Ponte  
Vico*.

*French  
pass the  
Adda,*

THE Fifteenth Day of *April*, 1509,  
gave the first Movement to so great a  
War, by *Chaumont*'s fording the River  
*Adda* near *Casciano* with Three Thousand  
Horse, and passing Six Thousand Foot,  
and afterwards the Artillery, in Boats.  
He directed his March to *Trevi*, Three  
Miles

the 16th Day of *April* 1509, in a private Manner, to  
avoid striking a Terror into the People. After he had  
denounced the War on the part of the King his Master,  
the Doge *Loredano* made a very prudent and becoming  
Answer. *Bembo.*

Miles from *Casciano*, in which was *Giustini- A. D.  
niano Morosino*, Proveditor of the *Venetian* <sup>1509.</sup> *Stradiotti*, and with him *Vitello* of *Citta di Castello*, and *Vincentio di Naldo*, who had drawn together some Foot who were to be distributed in the neighbouring Towns. These Officers imagining that the *French*, who had mostly dispersed themselves in different Places, had no Design to attack the Town, but only to scour the Country, ordered out Two Hundred Foot, and some *Stradiotti*; they were immediately attacked by a Party of *French*, who after a Skirmish pursued them to the very Ravelin of the Gate. The *French* were soon after reinforced by more Troops, and the Artillery being brought before the Town, they began to play with some Falconets on the Fortifications of the Place, with such an Effect, that, either from the Cowardice of the Commanders, who were terrified at the Suddenness of the Attack, or on account of a tumultuous Rising of the Inhabitants, the Town was surrendered to *Chaumont* <sup>and take  
Troy</sup> at Discretion: The Proveditor *Giustiniiano*, *Vitello*, and *Vincentio*, and many others

*A. D.* were made Prisoners, besides One Hundred light Horse, and One Thousand Foot, almost all of them of the Valley of *Dilamone*, only Two Hundred Stradiotti saving themselves by Flight \*. *Chaumont*, after this, had some other neighbouring Places surrendered to him, and then returned with his Troops beyond the *Adda*.

ON the same Day the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who was in the King's Pay, and had the Command of One Hundred Lances, attacked *Casal Maggiore*, which Fortress, together with *Luigi Bono* the *Venetian* Commander, was surrendered to him by the Inhabitants, without any Resistance. On the same Day also *Roccalbertino*, with One Hundred and Fifty Lances and Three Thousand Foot, passed from *Piacenza* on a Bridge of Boats laid over the *Adda*, where it falls into the *Po*,

and

\* *Mocenigo* lays the Fault on the Townsmen of *Trevi*, who had rather betray the *Venetian* Garrison than defend the Place against the *French*. But *Bembo* and *Giustiniano* assure us that the Town, after sustaining the Attack as long as could be expected, was at last obliged to surrender.

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and made an Incursion into the Territory of *Cremona*, which was also invaded on another Quarter by the Troops that were in Garrison at *Lodi*, who had laid a Bridge over the *Adda*; besides which the whole Body of Peasants that inhabited the mountainous Country of *Brianza*, made a Descent and ravaged the Country as far as *Bergamo*. These Attacks made in five different Parts on one Day, and without the Appearance of an Enemy on any Quarter, made more Noise than it produced Effect. For *Chaumont* immediately after returned to *Milan* to wait for the Arrival of the King, who was not far off: And the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who, after the Taking of *Casal Maggiore*, had made a fruitless Attempt on *Afola*, understanding that *Alviano*, with a numerous Body of Troops had passed the River *Oglia* at *Ponte Moloro*, abandoned *Casal Maggiore*.

AFTER a Beginning was thus made to the War, the Pope without Delay published, under the Title of *Monitory*, a terrible Bull, in which were related all the Pope pub-  
lishes a  
Bull a-  
gainst the  
*Venetians*.

*A. D.* the Usurpations which the *Venetians* had  
<sup>1509.</sup> made of the Towns and Territories be-  
longing to the Apostolic See, and of the  
Authority which they had arrogated to  
themselves, in prejudice of the Eccle-  
siastical Liberty, and of the Jurisdiction  
of the Pontiffs, by conferring Bishopricks  
and many vacant Benefices, and by trying  
Spiritual Causes and other Matters re-  
served to the Judgment of the Church, in  
secular Courts. And, besides a Recital of  
all the rest of the past Disobediences,  
there was an Account how they had but  
a few Days before, in order to disturb  
the Administration of *Bologna*, to the Pre-  
judice of the holy See, invited from  
*Faenza* the *Bentivogli*, who, being Rebels  
against the Church, were subject, as were  
all that received them, to the most grie-  
vous Censures. He then admonished them  
to restore, within Twenty-four Days,  
the Lands which they had taken from the  
Church, together with the Profits received  
from them since the Time they first took  
them in their Possession, under Pain of  
incurring, in case of Disobedience, the  
Ecclesiastical Censures and Interdicts,  
which

which would involve not only the City of *Venice*, but all Places within their Dominions, and even such as, not being yet subject to them, should hereafter receive any *Venetian* : Declaring them further to have incurred the Crime of High Treason, and worthy to be treated as perpetual Enemies to all Christians, who were by these Presents empowered to seize on their Effects, and to make Slaves of their Persons.

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AGAINST this Bull there was in a few Days after, by some unknown Persons, dispersed about the City of *Rome* a Paper in the Name of the Doge and *Venetian* Magistrates ; in which, after a long Recital of Grievances received from the Pontiff and the King of *France*, was contained an Appeal from the Monitory *Venetians* to a future Council, and, in default of a Council, <sup>appeal to</sup> human Justice, to the Tribunal of Christ, the most just Judge and supreme Lord of all.

THIS spiritual Monitory was soon followed by temporal Threats ; for the Herald

*A. D.* Herald *Monjoye*, being arrived at *Venice*,  
*1509.* and introduced to the Doge and the Senate, in the Name of the King declared the War which was already begun, adding to his Declaration Reasons of more Weight than Justice. To this Denunciation the Doge, after some Consultations, answered in very few Words, that since the King of *France* had resolved to declare War Doge's Answer to the French Denunciation of their Confederacy, which they had never violated, but had provoked the King of the Romans to be their Enemy, because they would not renounce their Alliance with France, they would take the best care to defend themselves, which they trusted to effect by means of their Arms, in conjunction with the Justice of their Cause. This short Answer was thought more becoming the Dignity of the Republic, than enlarging further on their own Justification, or making vain Complaints against the Aggressor.

THE *Venetian* Army was now all assembled at *Ponte Vico*, and consisted of

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of Two Thousand Men at Arms, Three Thousand light Horse and Stradiotti, Fifteen Thousand Foot, picked from all Parts of *Italy*, and indeed the Flower of the *Italian* Soldiery, as well for the Valour of the Common Men, as for the Bravery and Experience of the Officers, besides Fifteen Thousand other Foot, selected from the ordinary standing Militia of their own Country; and their Camp was furnished with a very numerous Train of Artillery. From *Ponte Vico* the Army marched to *Fontanella*, a Town Six Miles from *Lodi*, and a very convenient Post for covering *Cremona*, *Crema*, *Caravaggio*, and *Bergamo*. Here judging they had an Opportunity, by the Retreat of *Chau-mont* beyond the *Adda*, and the King's Forces not being all joined, to recover *Trevi*, they put themselves in Motion for that Purpose by Orders from the Senate, tho' contrary to the Advice of *Alviano*, as he himself afterwards affirmed. That General alledged that it was taking Resolutions that were in a manner repugnant, to forbid an Engagement with the King's Army, and yet on the other hand to make

*A. D.* make such Approaches towards it, that  
*1509.* perhaps it would not be in their Power  
to retreat, and even if it were feasible, it  
could not be done without diminishing  
the Reputation of that Army to such a  
Degree as to have a bad Influence on the  
whole Course of the War; on which  
Account, and for the Sake of his own  
Honour, and for the Honour of the  
*Italian* Army in general, he would sooner  
chuse to die, than give his Consent to  
so disgraceful a Step.

THE Army first took possession of  
*Rivolta*, where the *French* had left no  
Garrison. They put Fifty Horse and  
Three Hundred Foot into the Place,  
and from thence came before *Trevi*, a  
a Town at a small Distance from the  
*Adda*, situated on a Spot somewhat emi-  
nent, and in which *Chaumont* had left  
Fifty Lances and a Thousand Foot under  
the Command of *Imbault*, *Frontaille* a  
*Gascon*, and the Chevalier *Blanc*. The  
Cannon being planted on the Side to-  
wards *Casciano*, where the Wall was weak-  
est, did such Execution, that the Be-  
sieged

sieged surrendered next Day. The Sol- *A. D.*  
1509.  
diers had Liberty to depart, but with-  
out Arms, the Officers were made Pri-  
soners, and the Town being left to the  
Discretion of the Conquerors was imme-  
diately plundered.

BUT the Loss sustained on this Occa-  
sion proved greater to the Victors than to  
the Vanquished: For as soon as the King  
of *France* had received Advice that the  
Enemy had laid Siege to *Trevi*, ima-  
gining that the Loss of that Place in a  
manner before his Eyes would greatly  
diminish his Reputation, he suddenly set  
out from *Milan*, with an Intention to re-  
lieve it. On the Ninth of *May*, the Day  
after *Trevi* was taken, the King arrived  
at the River near *Casciano*, where by the  
Conveniency of that Place three Bridges *King of*  
*France*  
of Boats had been laid before without *passes the*  
*Adda.*  
any Difficulty, and passed over with his  
whole Army, meeting with no Enemy,  
nor the least Show of Resistance. Every  
Body was surprised that the *Venetians*  
should idly lose so fair an Opportunity  
of attacking the first Part of the Troops  
that

*A. D.* that had passed, and *Trivulzio*, when he  
*1509.* saw that the Army met with no Impedi-  
ment in its Passage, cry'd out, " This  
Day, O most Christian King, have we  
gained the Victory." But we are assured  
that the *Venetian* Generals knew very well  
what good Opportunity was offered them,  
and were willing to lay hold of it ; but it  
was not in their Power, neither by their  
Authority, nor by their Prayers nor  
Threats, to make the Soldiers, who were  
busied in plundering, come out of *Trevi*.  
There being no other Remedy for these  
Disorders, *Alviano* was necessitated to set  
Fire to the Town, that the Soldiers might  
be forced to leave the Place ; but this  
Expedient was used too late, for the  
*French*, to their unspeakable Satisfaction,  
had already passed the River, and were  
making themselves merry with the Neg-  
ligence and Misconduct of their Enemies.

THE King encamped with his Army  
a little above a Mile distant from the Camp  
of the *Venetians*, which was placed on  
a somewhat rising Grouud, and so strong  
by its Situation and Entrenchments that  
there

there was no Avenue by which it could  
be attacked without manifest Danger. *A. D.*  
1509.  
On consulting therefore in what manner  
to proceed, many of those who assisted  
at the King's Councils, persuading them-  
selves that *Cæsar* would soon exert the  
Power of his Arms in an effectual Manner,  
advised to proceed slowly and with Deli-  
beration. For in Matters of War he that  
expects an Attack is in a better Con-  
dition than he who seeks to give it, and  
when the *Venetian* Generals shall find  
themselves unable to defend their Domi-  
nions in so many Parts at once, they will  
be under a Necessity of coming out of  
their Trenches, and seek an Occasion of  
hazarding a Battle. But the King was  
of different Sentiments, and only wished  
for an Opportunity to fight where the  
Situation of the Place might not give the  
Enemy too great an Advantage over the  
Valour of his Soldiers. And what made  
him the more eager to engage was either  
his Apprehensions of the Slowness of the <sup>French</sup> King ~~de-~~  
King of the *Romans*, or because finding <sup>furious to</sup>  
himself in Person with all the Forces of  
his Kingdom, he had not only conceived

*A. D.*  
1509. great Hopes of Victory, but thought it would be a great Dishonour to his Name if he did not put an End to the War by himself without the Assistance of others; and, on the contrary, it would be highly glorious for him, that the other Confederates should equally share with himself in the Rewards of a Victory obtained by his own Power and Valour. On the other side, the *Venetian* Senate and Generals, retarded in their Counsels by the Fear of *Cæsar*, had resolved not to trust themselves in a Place of equal Advantage to themselves and their Enemy, but always to keep within strong Entrenchments, so as to avoid a Necessity of fighting, and prevent, at the same time, the *French* from making any considerable Progress.

*Venetians*  
avoid a  
Battle.

WITH these Resolutions the Armies stood encamped one against the other a whole Day, and tho' there passed frequent Skirmishes between the light Horse, and the *French*, advancing their Artillery, endeavoured to draw on a Battle, yet nothing of Moment happened. The next Day

A. D.  
1509.

Day the King made a Motion towards *Rivolta*, for the Sake of trying whether a Desire to preserve that Town would induce the *Italians* to quit their Camp; but this not moving them, the King, that he might obtain from them at least a tacit Confession that they durst not come to an Engagement, stood full four Hours with his Army drawn up in Order of Battle before their Entrenchments; but they made no other Motion than turning to the Front of the *French*, and arraying themselves, without abandoning their strong Post. In the mean time the Cannon with Part of the Troops came before the Walls of *Rivolta*, which Place was taken in a few Hours by Force. Here <sup>French</sup> take the King with his whole Army that *Rivolta*. Evening took up his Quarters, not a little perplexed at the Enem'ys Method of proceeding, whose Conduct he could not help commending as much as it displeased him. To try however if Necessity would drive them whither their Will would never induce them, after he had tarried a Day at *Rivolta*, he set Fire to the Place, and left it, with an Intent to

Q. 2

take

*A. D.* 1509. take up his Quarters at *Vaila* or *Pandano* the next Evening, in Hopes that by the commodious Situation of either of these Places he might intercept the Convoys of Provisions from *Crema* and *Cremona* to the Enemy's Camp, and so reduce them to a Necessity of abandoning it.

THE *Venetian* Generals were aware of the King's Project, and concluded that it was necessary for them to take possession of some other strong Post near the Enemy, that they might continue to hold them under the same Difficulties, and obstruct their Progress. Count *Pitigliano* advised not to move till the next Day, but *Alviano* insisted on the contrary with such Warmth, alledging that it was necessary to prevent the Enemy, that at last it was resolved to move with all Speed. There are two Roads that lead to *Crema* and *Cremona*, one lower, near the *Adda* but longer as being in a curve Line, the other more remote from that River, but shorter, and in a strait Line, representing the String of the Bow, as the other does the Bow itself. The lower

lower Road was taken by the King's Army, which was said to consist of above Two Thousand Lances, Six Thousand Swiss, and Twelve Thousand *Gaf-* <sup>A. D.</sup> <sub>1509</sub> <sup>Number</sup> <sub>of the Armies.</sub> *cons* and *Italians*, abundantly provided with Artillery, and a great Number of Pioneers. The *Venetian* Army marched by the higher Road, with their Right towards the Enemy, and was reckoned to consist of Two Thousand Men at Arms, above Twenty Thousand Foot, and a very great Number of light Horse, Part *Italians* and Part inlisted by the *Venetians* in *Greece*. These rid on before the rest, but could not well extend nor range themselves for the Shrubs and Stumps of Trees that covered the Ground between the two Armies, and also took off all Prospect they might have one of another. The *Venetian* Army marching in this Manner, and continually advancing along the higher Road, the Vanguard of the *French*, led by *Charles d' Amboise* and *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi*, in which were Five Hundred Lances and the *Swiss*; and the *Venetian* Rearguard commanded by *Bartolomeo Alviano*, consisting of Eight

A. D. <sup>1509.</sup> Hundred Men at Arms, and almost all the Flower of the Foot, arrived at the Meeting of the Roads much about the same Time; but the *Venetians* marched in no good Order, because *Alviano* had no Thoughts of fighting that Day. However when he saw himself so near the Enemy, either stimulated by his usual Ardor, or finding himself reduced to such a Situation as made it necessary for him to engage, he immediately sent Notice to Count *Pitigliano*, who was advanced forwards with the other Part of the Army, of his Necessity and Resolution, desiring him to come to his Assistance. But the Count sent him word to pursue his March, and avoid fighting, because the Rules of War so required, and such were the Orders of the *Venetian* Senate.

ALVIANO having drawn up his Foot, with Six Pieces of Cannon, on a small Bank made to check the Violence of a Torrent, the Bed of which was then without Water, and lay between both Armies, attacked the Enemy with such Vigour and Fury that he made them give Way.

Way. In this Beginning of the Battle <sup>A. D.</sup> ~~1509.~~ he was greatly favoured by some Vines, ~~which~~ among which the first Charge was made, and which by their trailing Branches very much incommoded the *French* Horse. But their main Battle advancing with the King in Person to their Assistance, the two first Squadrons drew up and fell on the Enemy. *Alviano*, who had conceived mighty Hopes of the Victory from <sup>Battle of</sup> ~~the~~ *Gbia-* his prosperous Beginning, rode up and *radadda*. down, and was present every where, animating and encouraging his Troops with the most ardent and enlivening Speeches. The Fight was very furious and obstinate on all Sides, and the *French*, by the seasonable Advance of their main Body, having recovered their Courage and Spirits, and the Engagement being now drawn into an open Place, their Cavalry, in which they were much superior. had Room to exert their utmost Force. They were also much animated by the Presence of their King, who, without regarding his Person any more than if he had been a common Soldier, exposed himself to the Danger of the Cannon, and was forever

Q 4 labouring.

A. D. 1509. labouring, by Commands, by Encouragements, and by Threats, as need required, to stimulate his Men to the Charge. On the other hand, the *Italian* Infantry, enlivened by their first Success, maintained the Fight with incredible Vigour, *Alviano* performing the Office of an excellent Soldier as well as of a General. But at last, after a valorous Contest for about the Space of three Hours, the *Venetian* Forces suffering very much from the Enemy's Horse in the open Plain, and besides not a little incommoded by the Ground, which was become very slippery, from a heavy Shower of Rain that fell during the Battle, and hindered their Infantry from standing firmly on their Feet, but, above all, wanting the Succour of the rest of their Troops, began to fight under very great Disadvantage. They continued however to make a noble and resolute Resistance, but having lost all Hopes of overcoming, they fought more for Glory than for Safety, and made the Victory bloody, and, for some time, dubious to the *French*; till, at last, being spent, and their Strength, but not their Courage failing,

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failing, the greatest Part, without turning their Backs to the Enemy, were killed in the Field. Among the Slain was the <sup>Defeat of</sup> much celebrated *Piero*, one of the <sup>the Venetians.</sup> *quisés del Monte a Santa Maria in Tuscany*, who had been an Officer of Foot in the Wars of *Pisa* in the Pay of the *Florentines*, and was now a Colonel of a Regiment of Foot in the Service of the *Venetians*. By this valiant Resistance of only one Part of the Army, it was then firmly believed by many, that if the whole *Venetian* Force had been engaged, they would have obtained the Victory. But Count *Pitigliano*, with the greater Part of the Army kept off from the Field of Battle, either because, as he himself alledged, his Troops were put in Disorder as he was turning them with an Intention to come up and engage, by a Squadron of Horse that fled; or rather, as the Report went, because he had no Hopes of getting the better, and was angry that *Alviano*, in Defiance of his Authority, had presumed to engage, and thought the wisest Measure he could take was to save that Part of the Army which was with him, and

not

*A. D.* not sacrifice the whole to another's inconsiderate Rashness. <sup>1509.</sup> There died in this Battle but few Men at Arms, the greatest Loss fell upon the *Venetian* Foot, of whom some affirm that Eight Thousand were killed; others say that the Number of the Dead on both Sides did not exceed Six Thousand. *Bartolomeo Alviano* remained Prisoner, having one of his Eyes almost beat out, and his whole Face much bruised, and in that Condition was conducted to the King's Pavilion; twenty Pieces of heavy Cannon were also taken, but the Remainder of the *Venetian* Army not being pursued, got off in Safety. Thus ended the famous Battle of the *Ghiaradadda*, or, as some call it, of *Vaila*, which was fought on the Fourteenth Day of *May*, and in Memory of which the King erected a Chapel on the Place where the Armies engaged, and honoured it with the Name of *Santa Maria della Vittoria*.

THE King of *France*, after obtaining so great a Victory, resolving not to lose by Negligence the Advantages he had acquired

quired by Valour and good Fortune, *A. D.*  
marched the next Day to *Caravaggio*. *1509.*

The Town immediately submitted upon *Progress*  
Articles, and the Cittadel, after a Day's *of the*  
Battery, surrendered at *Discretion*. On *French*  
the Day following, the City of *Bergamo*, *after the*  
without waiting the Arrival of the Army  
before the Place, surrendered itself to  
the King, who left Fifty Lances, and One  
Thousand Foot in the Town, in order to  
besiege the Castle, and directed his March  
to *Brescia*. Before his Arrival at that  
Place, the Castle of *Bergamo*, the Day *Bergamo*  
after the Trenches were opened, capitu-*taken*.  
lated and agreed that *Maria Giorgio*,  
and the other *Venetian* Officers should re-  
main Prisoners. For the King had re-  
solved, not so much out of Hatred, as in  
Hopes to extort large Ransoms, to grant  
no Article, in the Capitulation of any  
Town, by which the *Venetian* Noblemen  
might have Leave to retire in Safety.  
The Inhabitants of *Brescia* were not of  
the same Disposition as in the Days of their  
Grandfathers, when, in the Wars of  
*Filippo Maria Visconti*, they sustained a  
very hard Siege for the Sake of preserving  
them-

*A. D.* themselves under the *Venetian Government.* For they were now inclined to surrender themselves to the King, partly through the Terror of the *French Arms*, and partly by the Persuasions of Count *Gio. Francesco di Gambara*, Head of the Faction of the *Ghibellines*. Wherefore the Day after the Defeat the Townsmen seized on the Gates, and openly opposed *Giorgio Cornaro*, who had hastened thither with the utmost Expedition, and offered to put some Troops into the Place. And when afterwards the *Venetian Army*, diminished not so much by that Defeat, but, as it usually happens in like Cases, by Desertion, approached the City, the Inhabitants paid no regard to the Authority and Intreaties of *Andrea Gritti*, who had entered into *Brescia*, and endeavoured to persuade them to admit the Army for their own Defence. Wherefore the Troops not thinking themselves secure in their present Situation, removed towards *Peschiera*, and then the City of *Brescia*, by the Interest and Sollicitations of the Family of the *Gambari*, surrendered itself to the King of *France*, as did two Days after

*And  
Brescia.*

after the Citadel on condition of Liberty <sup>A. D.</sup>  
and Safety to all that were within it, ex- <sup>1509.</sup>  
cept the *Venetian* Noblemen.

THE News of so many successive Calamities and Misfortunes arriving at <sup>General</sup> *Venice*, it is not to be expressed nor imagined what Grief and Terror it struck <sup>Confer-  
nation at  
Venice.</sup> into the Hearts of all the People, with the Confusion and Astonishment into which it threw them. They were not accustomed to feel the Strokes of Adversity, but to come off Conquerors in almost all the Wars in which they had ever been engaged. But now they had presented before their Eyes the dismal Prospect of the Loss of their Dominions, and the Danger of the final Ruin and Destruction of their dear Country, instead of those pleasing Scenes of Glory and Grandeur from which they had but a few Months before proposed to themselves the Empire of all *Italy*. People from all Parts of the City ran with loud and miserable Lamentations to the Palace, where the Senate sat consulting what Measures to take in so pressing a Juncture, and after long Debate.

D. A. bate concluded on nothing but Despair.  
1509. For the Remedies appeared so weak and uncertain, and the Hopes of their Preservation so slender and groundless, as to afford no other Result, when they considered that they had no other Generals, and no other Soldiers than those who had escaped from the Battle, and were destitute of Strength and Spirits, and that the People subject to their Dominion were either inclined to rebel, or averse to suffer Loss, and hazard Life for their Sake. The King of *France* with an Army very powerful, and insolent with Victory, was disposed to follow the Course of his prosperous Fortune, and his Name alone was sufficient to induce every one to yield himself to his Subjection. And if they had not been able to resist that King, what must become of them on the Arrival of the King of the *Romans*, who, as reported, was approaching to their Borders, and now he had so fair an Opportunity, would doubtless quicken his March? Dangers and Despair appeared in all Quarters, with very few Signs of Hope. And what Security had they that in their own Coun-

try,

A. D.  
1509.

try, full of innumerable Multitudes, there would be no dangerous Insurrection, partly from a Greediness of Plunder, and partly out of Hatred to the Nobles? And thus did they reckon as most certain all those calamitous Events which their own Imagination represented as possible to happen; which is the greatest Degree of Timidity.

UNDER the Weight of these terrible *Venetians* and alarming Apprehensions, the Senate <sup>for their</sup> prepare however, after some time, recollected Defence. their Spirits in the best Manner they could, and resolved to use their utmost Efforts to reconcile themselves upon any Terms whatsoever to the Pope, to the King of the *Romans*, and to the Catholic King, without taking any Thoughts about appeasing the King of *France*, for they as much distrusted him for his Hatred against them, as they dreaded the Power of his Arms. Nor yet did they on this account in the least abate of their Sollicitude to defend themselves, by providing Supplies of Money, and making new Levies in all their Territories; and being apprehensive of a Fleet which was said to be preparing at

A. D. at *Genoa*, they increased their naval Force  
 1509. to Fifty Gallies, and appointed *Angelo Trevisano* to command it.

Further  
Progress  
of the  
French  
King.

BUT all their Counsels were prevented by the Diligence and Activity of the King of *France*, to whom, after the Acquisition of *Brescia*, the City of *Cremona* surrendered, the Castle still remaining in the Hands of the *Venetians* \*; which, tho' in a good State of Defence, would have followed the Example of the rest, as did much about the same time the Castle of *Pizzichitone*, if the King would have consented that all who were in the Place should have Leave to depart in Safety; but many of the *Venetian* Nobles being there, and amongst the rest *Zaccharia Contarino*, a very wealthy Nobleman, he refused to accept their Surrendry but on Condition of submitting to his absolute Disposal. Leaving therefore some Troops to block it up, and the *Venetian* Army, which continually diminished, being encamped

\* To this might be added *Crema*, which Town was surrendered to the King by Means of *Sençino Benzonii Bembo*.

camped in the *Campo Martio* near to *Verona*, because the *Veronese* would not receive them within their Walls, the King marched forwards to *Peschiera*, to make himself Master of the Castle of that Place, the Town having already surrendered. Soon after the Batteries had begun to play the *Swiss* and *Gascons* made an Attack, and entering thro' some small Breaches in the Wall with irresistible Force, put the Garrison, in Number about Four Hundred, to the Sword. The Governor, who had also the Command of the Town, and was a *Venetian* Nobleman, being made a Prisoner, was, by the King's Orders, together with his Son, hanged on the Battlements of the same Castle. What induced the King to this Piece of Cruelty was his Intention to terrify those who were in the Castle of *Cremona*, and deter them by this exemplary Punishment from defending themselves to the last Extremity. Thus, in the Space of Fifteen Days after the Battle, had the King of *France* made himself Master of all that Part of the *Milanese* allotted to him by the Division made at *Cambray*, the

A. D.

1509.

*A. D.* Castle of *Cremona* excepted : An Acquisition of vast Advantage to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and by which the royal Revenue was increased yearly by above Two Hundred Thousand Ducats.

Motions  
of the  
Pope's  
Army.

IN the mean time, there was no certain News of the Motions of the King of the *Romans*, but the Pope had attacked the Towns of *Romagna*, with an Army of Four Hundred Men at Arms, as many light Horse, and Eight Thousand Foot, and with a Train of Artillery borrowed from the Duke of *Ferrara*, whom he had appointed Gonfaloniere of the Church; a Title in our Times rather of Dignity than Authority. The Ecclesiastic Forces were put under the Direction of *Francesco da Castel del Rio*, Cardinal of *Pavia*, with the Title of Apostolical Legate, and *Francesco Maria della Rovere*, Son to the late *John* the Pope's Brother, who being adopted by *Guido Ubaldo*, Duke of *Urbino*, his Uncle by the Mother's Side, and the Adoption confirmed by the Authority of the Pope in Consistory, had the Year before, the Duke dying without Issue male,

suc-

succeeded him in the Dutchy. The <sup>A. D.</sup>  
<sup>1509.</sup> Army marched from *Cesena* towards *Cer-*  
*via*, and being arrived between *Imola* and  
*Faenza*, they took the Town of *Solarolo*,  
and having encamped some Days at *Bastia*,  
three Miles from *Faenza*, removed to  
*Brisighella*, the principal Town of the  
Valley of *Lamone*, into which had entered  
*Gian Pagolo Manfrone* with Eight Hun-  
dred Foot and some Horse. These  
Troops sallying forth in order to fight the  
Enemy, were drawn into an Ambush,  
where they were vigorously charged by  
*Gian Pagolo Baglione* and *Lodovico della*  
*Mirandola*, Commanders in the Eccle-  
siastical Army, and flying back to the  
Town, their Pursuers entered pell mell  
with them into the Place, and with such  
Violence that *Manfrone*, who had fallen  
from his Horse, had scarce Time to re-  
tire into the Castle, which being besieged,  
the first Shot that was made set Fire to  
the Powder in the Magazine, and so  
frightened and confounded the Befieged,  
that they surrendered without any Condi-  
tions to the Discretion of the Conquerors.  
After taking Possession of the whole Val-

*A. D.* ley, the Army made a Descent into the  
*1509.* Plain, and took *Granarolo*, with all the other Towns and Villages of the Territory of *Faenza*, and went to encamp at *Russi*, a Castle situated between *Faenza* and *Ravenna*, but not easy to be taken, being surrounded with a wide and deep Fosse, and had a Garrison of Six Hundred foreign Soldiers: But what rendered the Siege more difficult was the Want of Conduct and Harmony in the Pope's Army; for tho' it abounded in Troops, having been newly reinforced with Three Thousand *Swiss*, yet, on this account, it made not so great a Progress as otherwise it might, as the *Venetians* were not powerful in *Romagna*. *Giovanni*, a Greek Captain of Stradiotti, having fallen out of *Ravenna* with his Company, was routed and taken Prisoner by *Giovanni Vitelli*; and *Russi*, after the Army had lain before it ten Days, was at last surrendered upon Articles; and the Victory of the King of *France* happening at this Time, the City of *Faenza*, which, by reason of the small Garrison of *Venetian* Soldiers, was at its own Disposal, agreed to come under

the

the Pope's Dominion, if it received no Succours in Fifteen Days. This Agreement being made, Five Hundred *Venetian* Foot marched out of *Faenza*, under the Legate's Word of Honour for their Security, but were disarmed and stripped by Order of the Duke of *Urbino*. The Example of *Faenza* was followed by the City of *Ravenna* as soon as the Army came before the Place. Thus, more by the Reputation of the King's Victory, than by the Power of his own Arms, did the Pope recover the Towns he so much desired in *Romagna*, in which the *Venetians* had nothing left but the Castle of *Ravenna*.

THE Defeat of the *Venetian* Army *Venetians* raised every Day new Enemies to that <sup>attacked</sup> <sub>on all</sub> Republic. The Duke of *Ferrara*, who *Sides*. had hitherto not thought fit to declare himself, on a sudden expelled out of *Ferrara* the *Bisdomino*, a Magistrate whom, by antient Conventions, the *Venetians* maintained in that City, to administer Justice to their own Subjects; and taking up Arms recovered, without Oppo-

*A. D.* <sup>1509.</sup> sition, the *Polesine di Rovigo*, and sunk with his Cannon the *Venetian* Float on the River *Adice*. The Marquis of *Mantoua* took possession of *Asola* and *Lunato*, which had been taken by the *Venetians* from his Great Grandfather *Giovannifrancesco da Gonzaga* in their Wars against *Filippo Maria Visconte*. In *Istria* *Christofano Frangipane* made himself Master of *Pisino* and *Divinio*. And the Duke of *Brunswick*, by Orders from *Cæsar*, entering *Friuli* with Two Thousand Militia, took possession of *Feltro* and *Bellona*. And at his Approach, and the Fame of the Victory obtained by the *French*, *Trieste* and those other Towns, the Acquisition of which had been the Source of so many Calamities to the Republic, returned under the Dominion of *Cæsar*. Moreover the Counts of *Ladroni* seized on some neighbouring Castles, as did the Bishop of *Trent* on *Riva di Trento* and *Agresto*. But nothing since the Defeat so much terrified the *Venetians* as the Loss of the Citadel of *Peschiera*, which, they expected, would by its Strength repress the Fury, and stop the Progress of the

the Conqueror. Astonished at such a Train of Misfortunes, they were also apprehensive that the King of *France* would make a further Progress, for their Troops being reduced to a very small Number, and without Order or Discipline, were retired to *Mestre*. Wherefore looking on their Affairs as desperate, and following the Dictates of Fear rather than of Judgment, they resolved to lessen the Number of their Enemies, and, perhaps by too hasty a Despair, abandon the Defence of the *Terra firma*, that the King of *France* might have no Inducement to advance towards their Capital, where they were not without Apprehensions of an Insurrection either of the Populace, or of the innumerable Multitude of Foreigners living in *Venice*, to which they might be tempted by a greedy Desire of Plunder. They were also in Danger from their own Citizens, who, they had reason to believe, could no longer bear that, being free Denizens by long Succession of Ages in the same City, and even many of them of the same Blood and the same Families with the Nobles, they should be excluded from Honours,

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1509.

and in all Matters subjected and forced to give Way to the superior Rank of these proud Men of Quality. For this Despondency and Abjectness of Mind in giving up their Territory, the Senate, amongst others, gave also this Reason, that if they voluntarily relinquished their Dominions for the Sake of avoiding the present Dangers, whenever prosperous Fortune should return, they might recover them with the greater Facility. For when the People were left at liberty to dispose of their Obedience according to their own Discretion, they would shew less Reluctance to return under their antient Government, than if they had departed from their Duty in open Rebellion.

INDUCED by these Reasons, the *Venetians*, unmindful of the national Valour, and of the Splendor of so glorious a Republic, were contented to keep themselves within the Bounds of the salt Waters, and gave Orders to their Officers and Magistrates in *Padoua*, *Verona*, and other Towns destined to *Maximilian*, to leave them in the Disposal of the Inhabitants, and

and come away. Besides this they dif- *A. D.*  
 patched, with all Speed, *Antonio Giusti-* <sup>1509.</sup>  
*niano* Ambassador to that Prince, *Venerians*  
 to obtain of him a Peace upon <sup>abandon</sup> *the Terra*  
 any Conditions. This Ambassador being *firma.*  
 admitted into *Cæsar's* Presence at a public  
 Audience, spoke in a lamentable and very  
 submissive Manner; but in vain, for *Cæsar*  
 refused to make any Convention without  
 the King of *France*.

I THINK it not foreign to my Purpose, that we may form the better Notion of the mighty Confusion that had seized on the Republic, which, for above Two Hundred Years before, had never felt the like Strokes of Adversity, to insert the genuine Speech of the Ambassador, translated Word for Word out of *Latin* into our own Tongue, as follows:

“ I T is manifest and certain, that the <sup>Speech of</sup> antient Philosophers, and principal Men <sup>the Venetian Am-</sup>  
 among the Heathens, were not mistaken <sup>bassador</sup> <sup>to Cæsar.</sup>  
 when they asserted that the true, solid, lasting and immortal Glory was that which a Man acquired by conquering himself.

This

A. D. This they exalted above all Kingdoms,  
<sup>1509.</sup> Trophies, and Triumphs. For this was  
the greatest Praise given to *Scipio* the  
elder, a Man famous for so many Victo-  
ries, who, by getting the Mastery of  
himself, acquired more Renown than by  
his Triumph over *Africa*, and his Con-  
quest of *Carthage*. Was it not the same  
Virtue that gained Immortality to the  
Great *Macedonian*? When *Darius*, over-  
come by him in a very fatal Battle,  
prayed to the immortal Gods to restore  
him to his Kingdom, he added, that if  
they had otherwise decreed, he would  
desire no other Successor than so generous  
an Enemy, so merciful a Conqueror.  
*Cæsar* the Dictator, whose Name and  
Fortune your Majesty inherits, and with  
whose Liberality, Magnificence, and other  
Virtues you are endowed; did he not  
merit to be enrolled among the Number  
of the Gods by Condescending, Restoring,  
and Forgiving? And, to name no more,  
the Senate and People of *Rome*, those  
Conquerors of the World, whose Empire  
on Earth remains in you alone, and of  
whose Greatness and Majesty you are the

Re-

Representative ; did they not subject Nations and Provinces more by Clemency, <sup>A. D.</sup> ~~1509.~~ Equity and Gentleness, than by Force of Arms and Violences ?”

“ SINCE all this must be granted, it will be no inconsiderable Addition to your Majesty’s Praise, if now, while you have Victory in your Hands, and the *Venetians* at your Feet, you would put yourself in mind of human Frailty, and know how to use your good Fortune with Moderation, by attending more to the Study of Peace than to the doubtful Events of War. For how great is the Instability of human Affairs, how uncertain Chances, how dubious, mutable, fallacious and hazardous the Condition of Mortals, we need no foreign nor antient Examples to demonstrate ; we have a more than sufficient Proof in the *Venetian* Republic, which but a little while since was flourishing, splendid, celebrated, and potent to such a high Degree, that the Lustre of its Name, and Fame of its Power, were not confined within the Bounds of *Europe*, but spread themselves with extraordinary

Splen-

A. D. <sup>1509.</sup> Splendor and Admiration, through *Africa* and *Asia*, and their Praise resounded even to the remotest Ends of the Earth. How is this so lately glorious a Commonwealth, by one unprosperous Battle, in a slight Engagement, deprived at once of the Fame of its glorious Actions, despoiled of its Riches, torn in Pieces, trampled under Foot, ruined, and in Want of all Things, but especially of good Counsel, and depressed to such a Degree, that the very Idea of all its antient Valour and Resolution seems to be lost, and all that noble Ardor and Thirst after Glory in Wars totally extinguished."

" BUT they, I mean the *French*, undoubtedly deceive themselves, if they ascribe so great a Revolution to their own Valour ; since it is well known that the *Venetians* have struggled under greater Calamities in Times past ; they have been distressed, they have been exhausted by vast Losses and Damages ; but they never desponded, nor sunk into Despair, particularly during the Time when they sustained, for many Years, so very dangerous

A. D.

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gerous a War with that most cruel Enemy the *Turkish* Tyrant, whom they bravely resisted, till by Perseverance, instead of being conquered, they became in the End Conquerors. The Republic would have expected the same Event in the present Distress, had not the Dread of the Name of *Cæsar*, and the Resolution of his bold and invincible Troops sunk their Courage, and depressed their Spirits, and struck such an universal Damp, as deprived them of all Hopes not only of Victory but even of Resistance. We therefore laying down our Arms, fly for Refuge to the inexpressible Clemency, or rather Godlike Pity and Com-miseration of your Majesty, on which we entirely depend in our lost and despairing Condition : Beseeching your Majesty, in the Name of our Prince and Senate, and of the *Venetian* People, that you would cast an Eye of Pity on our afflicted Circumstances, and administer a sovereign Remedy to our Evils. We are ready to embrace whatever Conditions of Peace you shall please to prescribe, as just, honourable, and conformable to Equity and

A. D. and Reason. But we may perhaps be  
 1509. thought worthy to tax ourselves \* ; and therefore, freely and with one Consent, restore unto your Majesty, as the true and rightful Lord all those Lands and Possessions which our Ancestors have taken from the Holy Empire, and from the Dutchy of *Austria*. And to render this Offer the more convenient and acceptable, we freely and voluntarily relinquish to your Majesty all our Possessions on the *Terra firma*, renouncing all Right and Title to them by what Means soever acquired. Besides this, we will pay to your Majesty and your lawful Successors in the Empire the Sum of Fifty Thousand Ducats yearly for ever, and we will yield voluntary Obedience to your Majesty's Orders, Edicts, Laws and Precepts. Defend us, we beseech you, from the Insolence of those who, from being but a little while ago our Confederates, are now become our most cruel Enemies. Being thus preserved by your Majesty's Clemency, we shall

\* *Ma forse noi siamo degni che da noi medesimi a to siamo* ; as much as to say, We are left at liberty to burden ourselves with such Conditions as may perhaps procure a Peace,

shall ever call you the Father and the <sup>A. D:</sup> Founder of our City. We shall record <sup>1509.</sup> in our Annals, and perpetually recount to our Children the great Merits of *Cæsar*. And it will be no small Addition to your Praises, that you are the first at whose Feet the *Venetian* Republic has in so suppliant a Manner prostrated itself, the first to whom it has bowed the Neck, whom it honours, reverences, and regards as a celestial God. Had it pleased the great God and Lord of all to have restrained the Inclinations of our Ancestors from intermeddling in the Affairs of others, our Republic would still outvyl in Splendor all other Cities in *Europe*; but now, alas! it lies in the Dust, miserable, forlorn, and dejected, the Triumph of Envy and Malice, exposed to Derision and Reproach, and in a Moment deprived of the Glory of all its former Victories. But since it is necessary for us to return to the Point from whence we begun, it lies in your Power, O *Cæsar*, by forgiving and pardoning your *Venetians*, to purchase to yourself a Name and Glory greater and more splendid than ever any Conqueror.

A. D. 1509. queror acquired by Victory, and which  
no Succession of Ages, nor the most  
distant Length of Time can possibly  
efface from the Minds of Men; but all  
future Generations will celebrate your  
Praise, and confess and call you the pious,  
the merciful, and the most glorious Prince  
upon Earth. We in particular, your  
*Venetians*, shall ascribe it as entirely owing  
to your Goodness, Generosity and Cle-  
mency, that we live, breathe, and en-  
joy the Benefit of human Society."

THE Senate, in pursuance of the  
*Venetians* same Resolution, dispatched a Person to  
surrender the Towns *Puglia*, to make a Cession of the Ports in  
in *Puglia* that Country to the King of *Aragon*.  
and *Romagna*. That Prince, well knowing that he should  
reap the Fruits of another's Labour with-  
out Expence or Hazard, had fitted out  
but a very small Fleet from *Spain*, which  
took Possession of some Places of little  
Importance in the Territories of those  
Cities. They deputed also a Secretary of  
the Republic into *Romagna*, with a Com-  
mission to surrender into the Hands of  
the Pope all that they yet possessed in  
that

that Country, on condition that *Gian A. D.*  
*Pagolo Manfrone* and the other Prisoners <sup>1509.</sup>  
should be set at Liberty, and that they  
might have Leave to withdraw the  
Troops and Artillery that were in the  
Cittadel of *Ravenna*. While the Pope  
hesitated at accepting these Conditions,  
because he would not displease the Con-  
federates, the Garrison gave up the Citta-  
del, contrary to the Will of the *Venetian*  
Secretary, who was in the Place, and  
had some Assurances from those who  
managed the Treaty at *Rome*, that the  
Pope would at last consent to the Condi-  
tions on which the Surrender had been  
offered. His Holiness made heavy Com-  
plaints that the Senate of *Venice* had  
treated him with more Contumacy than  
they had shewed towards *Cæsar* and the  
King of *Aragon*. And therefore when  
the *Venetian* Cardinals *Grimano* and *Cor-  
naro* demanded of him, in the Name  
of the Senate, Absolution from the Moni-  
tory, as their Due, because they had  
offered the Restitution of the Towns he  
demanded within the Term of Twenty-  
four Days, his Holiness answered, that  
they

## THE HISTORY OF

they had not yielded Obedience, because they had not offered them simply, but with Restrictions and Conditions, and had been admonished also to restore, besides the Towns, all the Profits they had received, with the Effects belonging to the Church, or to the Ecclesiastics.

THUS were the Affairs of the *Venetian* Republic, by a violent and astonishing Shock, precipitated to the lowest Degree of Misery, with a continual Accumulation of Calamity upon Calamity, all Hopes vanishing as soon as propos'd, and no Resource left, by means of which it might hope at least, after the losf of so much Empire, to preserve its own Liberty. So great a Catastrophe variously affected the Minds of the *Italians*; some beheld it with the greatest Pleasure, remembering the ambitious Proceedings of that People, who, setting aside all Regard to Justice and public Faith, feized upon all Opportunities that offered, and had openly fought Means to bring all *Italy* in Subjection to them. Such Attempts rendered their Name universally detested, and they were

Various  
Reflec-  
tions of the  
*Italians*  
on the  
ruinous  
State of  
the *Vene-  
tians*.

D. A.  
1509.

were still the more hated for the Report, which prevailed every where, of their natural Pride and Haughtiness. Many, on the contrary, considered the Matter with more sound Judgment, reflecting what a dismal and calamitous Situation it must be for *Italy* to find itself intirely reduced under Slavery to Foreigners. They resented, with the deepest Concern and Indignation, that so great a City, so ancient a Seat of Liberty, that diffused the Splendor of the *Italian* Name over all the World, should be driven to such Extremities; that now there remained no Bridle to the Fury of the Ultramontanes, since the most honourable Member of the *Italic* Body, which had, above all others, maintained the common Fame and Estimation, was struck dead and useless.

BUT the Pope, more than all the rest of the Powers of *Italy*, began to be concerned at so great a Revolution. His Holiness entertained a Jealousy of the Power of the King of the *Romans* and of the King of *France*, and was therefore desirous that they should be involved.

Pope inclines to  
the Venetians.

## THE HISTORY OF

volved in some Difficulties, which might divert their Thoughts from oppressing himself. With this View he determined, tho' secretly, to put a Stop, as far as in him lay, to the Course of Misfortunes which overwhelmed the miserable *Venetians*. And therefore he accepted the Letters written to him in the Name of the Doge of *Venice*, in which he beseeched his Holiness, with the most profound Submission, that he would condescend to admit six Ambassadors, chosen out of the principal Members of the Senate, to supplicate, in the most humble Manner, his Pardon and Absolution. The Letters were read, and the Demand proposed in a Consistory; and it being pleaded, in behalf of the Supplicants, that it was the antient Custom of the Church not to exercise Severity towards those who, repenting of their Crimes, demanded Pardon, it was agreed that they should be admitted. The Ambassadors of *Cæsar* and of the King of *France* strenuously opposed their Admission, putting his Holiness in Mind that, by the Treaty of *Cambray*, he was expressly obliged

A. D.

1509.

liged to prosecute the *Venetians* both with his spiritual and temporal Arms, till each of the Confederates had recovered what belonged to him. The Pope answered, that he had consented to admit the Ambassadors of *Venice*, but did not intend to grant the Absolution, before *Cæsar*, who was the only Member of the Alliance that had not recovered the Whole of his Pretensions, should be put in full Possession of all that belonged to him,

THIS Step of the Pope somewhat revived the Spirits of the *Venetians*, and they began not to despair of their Preservation. But they were much more effectually relieved from the extreme Terror, with which they had been seized, by the Resolution of the King of *France* to observe indeed faithfully and punctually his Engagements with *Cæsar*, but, after he had acquired what he expected for himself, not to proceed with his Army beyond his own Bounds. For this Reason when it was in his Power to make himself Master of *Verona*, which City had

Hopes of  
the *Vene-  
tians* re-  
vive.

A. D. sent Deputies to offer him their Obedience,

1509.

and to surrender the Place into his Hands, after he had taken *Peschiera*; and when he might in like manner have taken Possession without Opposition of *Padoua* and other Towns abandoned by the *Venetians*, he refused the Offers, and directed the Deputies of *Verona* to present the Keys of their City to the Ambassadors of *Cæsar*, who attended his Army\*. On the same Account he continued with his whole Army encamped at *Peschiera*, which Town, invited by the Commodeousness of its Situation, he retained in his own Possession, tho' it belonged to the Marquis of *Manioua*, and had been formerly, together with *Asola* and *Lunato*, seized by the *Venetians*. The Marquis durst not refuse him, but had the Liberty to retain to himself the Revenues of the Place, and had the Promise of an Equivalent in Recompence.

#### ABOUT

\* The King of *France* would not accept the Keys of *Verona* because he would not contravene the League of *Cambray*; but he sent thither *Andrea di Burgo*, an Agent of *Maximilian*, who took Possession of that City in the Name of his Prince.

A. D.

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ABOUT this Time the Castle of *Cremona* was surrendered upon Articles, by which it was agreed that the Garrison should be safe in their Lives and Effects, except those who had been Subjects to the King of *France*, and the *Venetian* Noblemen, who had the King's Word of Honour given them for their Lives, but were to remain his Prisoners. The Example of *Verona* was followed by *Padoua*, *Vicenza*, and the other Places on the *Terra firma*, except the City of *Trevigi*, which, being abandoned by the *Venetian* Magistrates and Garrison, would have done the same, had *Cæsar* appeared with ever so small a Number of Troops, or even some Person of Authority in his Name. But one *Lionardo da Dressina*, <sup>*Trevigi*  
firm to the</sup> an Exile of *Vicenza*, being come to *Tre-Venetians*. *vigi*, tho' without Forces, Arms, or any Pretence of Authority, and admitted into the Place, where he expected to receive, in the Name of *Cæsar*, the Submission of the Inhabitants, in the like manner as it had happened to him at *Padoua*, the Exiles of that City, who had been lately

*A. D.* restored by the *Venetians*, and out of Gratitude devoted to their Interest, began to be tumultuous. On this Occasion the Populace, who were likewise well affected to the *Venetian* Government, made an Insurrection, and having at their Head one *Marco* a Shoemaker, amidst a vast Concourse, and with loud Shouts from the Multitude, carried into the principal Square the *Venetian* Standard, crying out, with one Voice, *San Marco*, protesting that they would acknowledge no other Government nor Lord. This Disposition of the Inhabitants was not a little confirmed by the Ambassador of the King of *Hungary*, who in his Way to *Venice* passing through *Trevigi*, happened to find himself in the Midst of the Tumult, and exhorted the People against Rebellion. So they drove out *Dressina*, and received into their City Six Hundred *Venetian* Foot; and soon after the Army, which was increased by the Troops arrived from *Sclavonia*, and those which were returned from *Romagna*, and had designed to form a Camp strongly entrenched between *Marghera* and *Mestre*, entered *Trevigi*.

Now

Now all Hands were set at Work, with <sup>A. D.</sup>  
~~the utmost Diligence, on the Fortifica-~~  
tions, and the Horse were ordered to  
scour the neighbouring Country, and  
bring all the Provisions they could find  
into the City, not only to supply the Ne-  
cessities of the Inhabitants, but also for  
the Use of the City of *Venice*, where  
they were amassing vast Quantities from  
all Parts.

THE principal Cause of this Accident,  
which gave the *Venetians* Hopes of saving <sup>ill Con-</sup>  
some Part of their Dominions, and made <sup>duct of</sup> *Maximi-*  
*Way* for many other Events of great *lian.*  
Importance, was the negligent and disor-  
derly Conduct of *Cæsar*. For in so rapid  
a Course of Victories the Public heard  
nothing of him all the while but his  
Name, tho' by the Terror of the *French*  
Arms so many Towns were surrendered  
to him, which by his Presence he might  
have easily preserved. But after the Con-  
federacy made at *Cambray*, he staid  
some time in *Flanders*, in order to re-  
ceive a voluntary Contribution of Money  
from those People, to enable him to carry  
on

A. D. 1509. on the War; which he had no sooner received than, according to his Custom, he squandered away in needless Expences. And tho' he set out from *Mechlin* armed, and with all the imperial Pomp and Formalities, and arrived on the Borders of *Italy*, spreading a Report that he would begin the War before the Time appointed by the Treaty, yet, labouring under his usual Difficulties and Embarrasments, he proceeded no further. Nor was he to be moved by the pressing Instances of the Pope, who, from the Terror which he had conceived of the *French* Arms, was continually solliciting him to come into *Italy*, and the better to enable him to do it had sent him Fifty Thousand Ducats by *Constantino of Macedonia*, having before consented that he should appropriate to his Use One Hundred Thousand Ducats which had several Years ago been reposed in *Germany*, to be spent in a War against the Infidels. And besides these Sums he had received of the King of *France* One Hundred Thousand Ducats for the Investiture of *Milan*. It is true that when he arrived near *Inspruck*, and received the

News

News of the Battle of *Vaila*, he immediately ordered the Duke of *Brunswick* <sup>A. D. 1509.</sup> to recover the Province of *Friuli*. But he himself never stirred, and lost so fair an Opportunity, for Want of Money, all the Sums he had received in so many Places not being sufficient to answer his Prodigality. At last he advanced as far as *Trent*, from whence he sent Letters of Thanks to the King of *France*, for having by his Means recovered his Towns, and to assure him that, for the greater Testimony of his hearty good Will towards him, and that the Memory of all former Offences might be utterly abolished, he had caused a Book, in which were recorded all the Injuries which had been done by the Kings of *France* to the Empire and to the *German* Nation in Times past, and which was kept at *Spires*, to be committed to the Flames.

WHILE *Maximilian* was at *Trent*, on the 13th Day of *June* he received a Visit from the Cardinal of *Rouen*, who came to treat about Affairs relating to the common Cause. His Eminence was received with

ex-

*A. D.* 1509. extraordinary Marks of Honour, and promised *Cæsar*, in the Name of his King, an auxiliary Regiment of Five Hundred Lances. After they had dispatched the Business that lay before them in perfect Harmony, it was agreed that *Cæsar* and the King of *France* should have an Interview and Conference in the open Field near the Town of *Garda* on the Confines of their respective Dominions. For this Purpose the King of *France* put himself in Readiness to be present on the Day prefixed, and with the same Design *Cæsar* came to *Riva di Trento*; where he had not stayed above two Hours before he suddenly returned to *Trent*, sending notice at the same time to the King of *France*, that some new Accidents had happened in *Friuli*, which obliged him to return, and entreated him to continue at *Cremona*, promising to return very soon in order to hold the Conference according to Appointment. This Change of Mind, if it be possible to assign the true Reason in a Prince of so fickle a Temper, many ascribed to something privately whispered in his Ear, which had thrown him into Suspi-

An Interview appointed and fails.

Suspicious, as he was by Nature very <sup>A. D.</sup> credulous. Others imputed it to his <sup>1509.</sup> Consciousness that, having but a small Court and few Attendants, he could not appear with that Dignity and Reputation which could any way come in Comparison with the Pomp and Grandeur of the King of *France*. But *Lewis*, who was desirous of lessening his great Expences by disbanding his Army with all Speed, made Provision for his immediate Return into *France*, and set out for *Milan*, without hearkening to *Maximilian*'s Propofal. Nor could he be diverted from his Resolution by *Matteo Lango*, now Bishop of *Goritz*, who was fent for that Purpose, and followed the King as far as *Cremona*, earnestly entreating him to have a little Patience and wait, assuring him of his Master's most certain and speedy Return.

THE Removal of the Perfon and Army of the most Christian King from the Confines of *Cæsar*'s Dominions had an ill Effect on his Affairs, and greatly diminished his Reputation. And yet, tho' he might easily have provided for the Defence

*A. D.* fence of *Padoua* and other Towns with  
1509. what Force he had about him, he took  
no Care to put Garrisons in them, either  
because he was naturally inconstant and  
remiss, or had some other Enterprize first  
in View; or else because he thought it  
would be more for his Honour to make a  
Descent into *Italy* at the Head of a greater  
Army; and, as if the preliminary  
Requisites were brought to Perfection,  
and there was nothing more to do, he  
proposed, with the united Forces of the  
whole Confederacy, to attack the City  
of *Venice*. A Project to which the King  
of *France* readily hearkened, but was  
disagreeable to the Pope, and openly con-  
tradicte by the King of *Aragon*.

Affairs of  
*Pisa*.

IN the mean time the *Florentines* gave  
the finishing Stroke to the War against  
the *Pisans*. For after they had prevented  
the Importation of Corn into *Pisa*, they  
made an Augmentation of their Troops,  
and resolved to employ their utmost Force  
and Industry to hinder all Supplies of any  
Kind of Provision from entering into *Pisa*,  
either by Sea or Land. This could not  
be

A. D.

1509.

be accomplished without some Difficulty, on account of the Vicinity of the Territory belonging to the *Lucchese*, who in this respect were no faithful Observers of the Agreement they had lately made with the *Florentines* whenever they had an Opportunity to transgress it in private. The Scarcity of Provisions however increasing every Day in *Pisa*, was become at last intolerable to the Peasants; wherefore those Heads of the Citizens who had the Direction of the public Resolutions, and were followed by the greatest Part of the *Pisan* Youth, in order to quiet the Minds of the Peasants by their usual Arts, set on Foot, by Mediation of the Lord of *Piombino*, a Treaty for making an Agreement with the *Florentines*. To negotiate this Treaty, which was artfully spun out to a great Length, *Nicolo Macchiavelli*, Secretary to the *Florentines*, and a Number of *Pisan* Ambassadors, chosen out of the Citizens and Peasants, were sent to *Piombino*. But *Pisa* was a City very difficult to block up, having a wide mountainous Territory, full of Ditches and Bogs, which render it difficult to intercept

*A. D.* 1509. *cept any Convoy of Provisions into the Place, especially in the Night, considering how ready the *Lucchese* were ever to supply them, together with the resolute Disposition of the *Pisans*, who never scrupled to expose themselves to all manner of Dangers and Fatigue to bring Provisions into the Town.*

*I*N order to surmount these Difficulties, the Generals of the *Florentines* resolved to divide the Army into three Parts, that being distributed into several Quarters, it might the more commodiously prevent all Entrance into *Pisa*. They posted one Part of the Forces at *Mazzano*, to take care of the Gate that leads to the Hills; a Second at *San Piero a Rena* and at *San Jacopo*, opposite to the Gate of *Lucca*; and the Third near the old Church of *San Piero in Grado*, which lies between *Pisa* and the Mouth of the *Arno*. In each Camp, which was well fortified, they placed One Thousand Foot, besides a good Number of Horse; and, for the better Security of the Road that leads thro' the Valley of *Osole* to Mount *San Giuliano*

*Giuliano*, and so over the Hills, they erected, A. D.  
1509. towards the great Hospital, a Redoubt capable of containing Two Hundred and Fifty Foot.

By this Proceeding the Wants of the *Pisans* daily increasing, they formed a Design of procuring some Relief by Stratagem, since they found it impracticable by Force. For this Purpose they dealt with one *Alfonso del Mutolo*, a young Man of *Pisa*, who had not long before been taken Prisoner by a Party of *Florentines*, and had received very great Favours from the Man who took him. This Fellow they employed to offer the *Florentines*, by Means of his Interest, to put into their Hands by Stealth the Gate of *Lucca*, designing when the Camp at *San Jacopo* should advance by Night to take Possession of the Gate, to admit as many as came, and then cut them to Pieces, and at the same time to attack one of the other Camps, which, by Appointment, were to move nearer to the City in order to favour the Enterprise. But the Troops approaching not in a rash and disorderly

VOL. IV.                    T                    Manner,

A. D. 1509. Manner, as was expected, the *Pisans* reaped no other Benefit of their Plot, than the killing a few Men, who had entered the Portal, among whom was *Canaccio da Prato Vecchio*, the Man who had taken Prisoner this *Alfonso*, in confidence of whose Faith the Design had been concerted; there perished also, by a Cannon Shot, *Pagolo da Parrana*, Captain of a Troop of *Florentine* light Horse.

THE *Pisans* disappointed in their Project, and no Corn now being brought to *Pisa* but in very small Quantities, and that by Stealth, and with very great Danger to the Importers, the *Florentines*, to increase their Distress, would not suffer the useless Mouths to come out of the City, but inflicted various Punishments on those who came forth. Hence the Necessaries of Life bore an excessive Price, and there not being a Quantity sufficient for all, many died for Want of Food. And yet, in the Midst of all this Distress, the Obstinacy of those Citizens who were at the Head of the Administration was greater than the public Wants. Those

Ma-

A. D.

1509.

Magistrates, who had rather see the final Destruction of their Country, than yield even to so dreadful a Necessity, laboured to put off from Day to Day an Accommodation, and to feed the Multitude with Hopes sometimes of one kind, sometimes of another ; and above all they endeavoured to make them believe that by the Coming of *Cæsar*, who was every Day expected in *Italy*, the *Florentines* would be obliged to break up their Camps, and leave the City at Liberty.

But Part of the Peasants, and particularly those who had been at *Piombino*, where they had learned what were the Politics of their Leaders, made an Insurrection, and constrained their Rulers to enter upon a new Treaty with the *Florentines*. The Negotiation was transacted with *Alamanno Salviati*, Commissary of that Part of the Army which was quartered at *San Piero in Grado*, and after various Disputes, notwithstanding the same Citizens continually used their utmost Diligence to prevent an Accommodation,

T 2

Agree-  
ment be-  
tween the  
*Floren-*  
*tines and*  
*Pisans.*

A. D. dation, the Treaty was brought to a Con-  
1509. clusion.

THE Conditions were very favourable to the *Pisans*, if it be considered that they not only obtained a full and free Remission of all Offences and Misdemeanours both public and private, but a Concession also of many Privileges and Exemptions. They were besides excused from making Restitution to the *Florentines* of those moveable Goods of theirs, which they had seized at the Beginning of the Rebellion. So eagerly desirous was the Republic to regain the Dominion of *Pisa*, and so strong were their Apprehensions that *Maximilian*, who had named the *Pisans* in the Treaty of *Cambray*, tho' that Nomination was not accepted by the King of *France*, or an unexpected Accident from some other Quarter should interfere and cross their Designs. And tho' they were certain that the *Pisans* would have been forced by Hunger to submit within a very few Days, they chose rather to make sure of their Design by an Agreement, tho' upon hard Terms, than, without

without a Composition, to entrust any Part of their Certainty to the Power of Fortune. This Agreement, tho' begun to be negotiated in the Camp, was afterwards under the Management of the *Pisan* Ambassadors concluded at *Florence*. In the Execution of this Treaty the Faith of the *Florentines* cannot be too much admired, who, tho' at such Variance and Enmity, and exasperated by numberless Injuries, were yet no less faithful and punctual in fulfilling their Promises, than they had been easy and gracious in making them.

IT is certain that the King of the *Romans* was not a little disturbed at the Submission of the *Pisans*, either because he had persuaded himself that the Dominion of that City would have been of mighty Service to him on many Occasions, or because he imagined that his giving Consent that the *Florentines* should have it, would have obtained of them a round Sum of Money, for want of which he let slip many fair Opportunities which offered themselves without any

*A. D.* Pains or Industry of his own. While  
<sup>1509.</sup> he thus neglected to serve himself of fa-  
vourable Occasions, and had scarce a  
Soldier of his own in *Vicenza* or *Padoua*,  
and by his Remissness had cooled the Ar-  
dor of the Inhabitants of those Towns  
which were well affected, and often  
and suddenly shifted, with a few Troops  
about him, from Place to Place, the  
*Venetians* laid hold of the Opportunity  
that presented for the Recovery of *Padoua*.  
They were induced to this Attempt by  
many Reasons; for the Preservation of  
*Trevigi* had shewed them what a wrong  
Step they had taken by Despair in precipi-  
tately abandoning their Empire on the  
*Terra firma*. And now by the ill Con-  
duct of *Maximilian* they grew every Day  
less apprehensive of his Power: They  
were not a little stimulated also by the  
Insolence of the *Padouans*, who would  
not suffer the Profits of the Lands which  
many private *Venetians* possessed in the  
Territory of *Padoua* to be carried to *Venice* \*;

so

\* The *Padouans* did not only refuse to let the *Venetians*  
keep Possession of their Lands, and to enjoy their Houses  
in *Padoua*, but bestowed them on the *Germans*. *Bambo.*

A. D.

1509.

so that private Provocations conspired with the Good of the Public. The *Venetians* were further encouraged by knowing that *Padoua* was but ill provided with Troops for its Defence, and that, by the insolent Behaviour of the Nobles of *Padoua* towards the Commonalty, many were put in mind of the Moderation of the *Venetian* Government, and began to wish for the former Administration. On all these Considerations it was resolved to make an Attempt to recover that City, for which they had the fairer Opportunity, as the greater Part of the Peasants in the Territory of *Padoua* were at their Devotion.

IT was concerted therefore that *Andrea Gritti*, one of the Proveditors, should leave the Army, which consisted of Four Hundred Men at Arms, above Two Thousand Stradiotti and light Horse, and Three Thousand Foot, and advance to *Novale* in the *Padouan*. On the Road he was to be joined by Part of the Foot, which, in conjunction with a great Number of Peasants, had been ordered to *Villa di Mirano*, and then to direct his

A. D. March towards *Padua*, in order to make  
<sup>1509.</sup> an Attack on the Gate of *Codalunga*, while, to strike the greater Terror and Confusion into the Defendants, Two Thousand Peasants, Three Hundred Foot, and some Horse, should attack the Portello on the opposite Part of the City ; and the better to conceal the Design, *Christofano Moro*, the other Proveditor, was to make a Feint of marching to besiege the Town of *Cittadella*. The Project was well concerted, and proved as successful as it was well conducted. For the Troops arriving early in the Morning, found the Gate of *Codalunga* half open, thro' which a little before some Waggons loaded with Hay had entered the Town. The first of the *Venetians* took possession of the Gate without any Difficulty, and waited, without making any Noise, for the Arrival of the rest of the Troops, which were nigh at hand. When they came up they all entered, and presented themselves in the Square of *Padua*, a City of vast Compass, but thinly inhabited, before the News of their Coming was spread. First marched the Chevalier

*Venetians*  
surprise  
*Padua.*

A. D.

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valier *della Volpe* with the light Horse, then *Zitolo da Perugia*, and *Lattantio da Bergamo* with Part of the Foot. But the Citadel taking the Alarm, *Dressina*, constituted by *Maximilian* Governor of *Padoua*, with Three Hundred *German* Foot, which were the whole Garrison, sallied out into the Square, as did *Brunoro da Serego* with Fifty Horse, in expectation that those Citizens who were well affected to the *German* Government would take up Arms in their Favour, and assist them in repulsing the Enemy. But their Hopes had not the least Foundation; for the City was so surprized and alarmed at the sudden Entrance of such a Number of the Enemy, that not a single Inhabitant stirred. Abandoned therefore and unsupported, the *Germans* were soon forced to retire, with considerable Loss, into the Castle and Cittadel, which being but ill fortified, they were in a few Hours obliged to surrender at Discretion. Thus was *Padoua* entirely reduced under subjection to the *Venetians*, who applied themselves to appease the Tumult, and to save the City, the greater Part of whose Inhabitants,

thro'

A. D. thro' the Insolence and ill Conduct of the  
<sup>1509.</sup> others, was become well affected to them; so that by this Care no Damage was done but to some Houses of the Jews and of some *Padouans*, who had declared themselves Enemies to the *Venetian* Name. This Day, being the Festival of *Santa Marina*, is still solemnly celebrated at *Venice* by Orders of the State as an auspicious Day, on which they began to recover their almost lost Empire.

THE Fame of this Conquest set the whole Country round about in a Commotion; *Vicenza* would have been in the same Danger, had not *Constantino* of *Macedonia*, who happened to be near, thrown himself with some few Troops into that City. After the Recovery of *Padoua*, the *Venetians* easily reduced its whole Territory, as they had the Affections of the meaner sort of People in the Towns, and also of the Peasants. In the same Career of good Fortune they recovered the Town and Castles of *Lignago*, a Place very commodious for infesting the whole Country about *Verona*,

*Padoua,*

*Padoua*, and *Vicenza*. They made an Attempt also on the Tower of *Marchesana* Eight Miles distant from *Padoua*, which lies very convenient for entering the *Polesine di Rovigo*, or infesting the Country of *Mantoua*, but miscarried, because the Cardinal *d' Este*, with a Body of Forces hasted to its Relief.

A. D.

1509.

THE Adventure of *Padoua* did not retard, as many thought it would have done, the Return of the King of *France* beyond the Mountains. That Prince, just before his Departure, at the Town of *Biagrassa*, entered into a new Convention with the Cardinal of *Pavia*, the Pope's Legate, by which his Holiness and the King mutually obliged themselves to protect each other, and agreed that either of them might enter into a Convention with any other Prince, provided it was not to the Prejudice of their present Confederacy. The King promised that he would not for the future take under his Protection, nor extend it in any manner to, any Subject, Feudatory, or Dependent, mediately or immediately, on the

Conven-  
tion be-  
tween the  
Pope and  
King of  
*France*.

A. D.

1509.

the Church, expressly disannulling all Protections which had been hitherto granted to this very Day. A Promise little becoming the Honour of so great a King; since not long before the Duke of *Ferrara* coming to wait on his Majesty, tho' at first the King shewed himself displeased, because he had, without his Knowledge, accepted the Office of Gonfaloniere of the Church, yet he was afterwards reconciled, and received him into his Protection on the Payment of Thirty Thousand Ducats. It was agreed also that the Pope should have the Disposal of the Bishoprics, that were at present vacant, in all the King's Dominions; but that such as should become vacant within a certain Time should be conferred according to the King's Nomination. And to give his Majesty the more Satisfaction, the Pope sent, by the same Cardinal of *Pavia*, the Bull of Cardinalship to the Bishop of *Albi*, promising to invest him with that Dignity as soon as he came to *Rome*.

THIS Agreement being settled, the King hastened his Departure out of *Italy*, and

and returned triumphant into *France*, *A. D.*  
having acquired vast Honour and Glory <sup>1509.</sup>  
by a Victory so compleat, and obtained  
with so much Speed, over the *Venetians*.  
But as Men who find themselves at length  
in possession of what they had long de-  
sired, seldom or never reap that Pleasure  
and Felicity from it which at first they  
had expected, so neither did *Lewis* carry  
back with him greater Tranquillity of  
Mind, nor more Security to his Affairs ;  
but, on the contrary, saw rather Matter  
prepared for greater Dangers and Changes,  
and himself under greater Perplexity in  
forming such Resolutions as the Events  
which had lately happened seemed to re-  
quire. For if *Cæsar* went on in a Course  
of Prosperity, he would have more Rea-  
son to be afraid of him than he had before  
to be apprehensive of the *Venetians*. And  
if the *Venetian* Power and Grandeur  
should begin to revive and flourish, he  
would be perpetually subject to Jealousies,  
and extraordinary Expences, for main-  
taining the Places he had taken from  
them. Nor was this all ; for he must  
take care to assist *Maximilian* with Troops  
and

*A. D.* and Money, since if he should abandon  
*1509.* him, it was much to be suspected that he would join with the *Venetians* against him, and, it was to be feared, in conjunction with the Catholic King, and perhaps also with the Pope. A moderate and sparing Assistance was by no means sufficient to preserve the Friendship of the King of the *Romans*, it must be such as to enable him to get the better of the *Venetians*: And to assist him with a mighty Force, besides the vast Expence it would require, would be to throw himself into the same Danger from the Greatness of *Maximilian*. On account of these Difficulties he was at first dubious whether he ought to be pleased or grieved at the Revolution in *Padoua*. But when he compared the Security which he might expect from depriving the *Venetians* of their Dominions on the *Terra firma*, with the Troubles and Dangers that he had reason to apprehend from the Greatness of the King of the *Romans*, and with his Hopes of obtaining of him, by means of his Necessities, for a Sum of Money, the City of *Verona*, which he ardently desired,

fired, as a Place very convenient for *A. D.*  
checking the Progress of any Movements <sup>1509.</sup> *—*  
that might be made in *Germany*, he con-  
cluded at last that it would be more for  
his Security and Profit to let things remain  
in such a State, as to suffer *Maximilian* and  
the *Venetians* to exhaust and weaken one  
another by long Wars and continual Ex-  
pences, as would very probably be the  
Case. And he was much the more con-  
firmed in those Sentiments on account of  
his Agreement with the Pope; for he  
was in hopes to find in him a sure Friend,  
and stedfast Ally. He had left however  
on the Borders of the *Veronese* Seven Hun-  
dred Lances under *La Palisse*, to be at  
*Cæsar's* Disposal, either for the Preservation  
of the new Acquisitions, or making fur-  
ther Conquests from the *Venetians*. These  
Lances *Cæsar* ordered to *Vicenza*, and by  
that means the City of *Verona*, which  
having but a small Garrison was thought  
in Danger, was secured, and the *Venetian*  
Army, which lay before *Cittadella*, re-  
tired.

BEFORE

BEFORE the King's Departure there happened another Accident in favour of the *Venetians*. For their Horse, which were in *Lignago* making continually Excursions over the Country, and even to the Gates of *Verona*, committed vast Ravages, which the Garrison of *Verona*, consisting of no more than Two Hundred Horse and Seven Hundred Foot, were in no Condition to prevent. The Bishop of *Trent*, who was Governor of *Verona* for *Cæsar*, resolving to form a Camp there, sent for the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who with the Troop of Horse which he had of the King lay at *Isola della Scala*, a large Village in the *Veronese*, without a Wall, or any Fortifications, attentive to the Preparations which were making \*. Here while he thought himself in absolute Security, he became a remarkable Example to all Generals how much it concerns them to be vigilant and orderly in all Situations and at all Seasons, and

not

\* The Marquis had been in *Verona*, and secured that City for *Cæsar*, but seeing his Slowness retired thence with Fifty French Lances to *Isola della Scala*. *Equicola.*

A. D.

1509.

not to place too much Confidence in their own Forces, or promise themselves absolute Safety from the Distance or Weakness of the Enemy. For the Marquis having agreed with some Stradiotti of the *Venetian Army* that they should come to him in that Place, and inlist under him, these Soldiers, from the Time they were first tampered with, gave notice of it to their Officers. On this Occasion Orders were given for attempting to surprise him ; for which Purpose *Lucio Malvezzo* with Two Hundred light Horse, and *Zitolo da Perugia* with Eight Hundred Foot secretly brought from *Padoua* to *Lignago*, being joined by the Garrison of this last mentioned Place, and by Fifteen Hundred Peasants, put themselves on the March ; then sending before them some Horse, who were often to cry out, *Turco*, the Surname of the Marquis, to make it believed they were the Stradiotti he expected, they arrived on the Morning appointed by Break of Day at *Isola della Scala*, and unsuspected entered the Place without Resistance, where finding all the Soldiers off the Guard, and the Servants and other

A. D. Attendants of the Marquis asleep, they  
1509. made them Prisoners, among whom they  
took *Boysi*, Lieutenant of the Marquis,  
and Nephew to the Cardinal of *Rouen*.  
The Marquis himself taking the Alarm  
escaped through a Window half naked,  
and hid himself in a Field of Corn, where  
he was discovered to the Enemy by a Pea-  
sant of the Place, who preferring the  
Welfare of the *Venetians* to his own Profit,  
according to the general and ardent In-  
clination of the People of that Country,  
while he pretended to hearken to the vast  
Offers of the Marquis, and made a Show  
as if he intended to save him, acted the  
quite contrary Part. The Marquis was  
conducted to *Padoua*, and from thence  
to *Venice*, where, to the inexpressible Joy  
of the whole City, he was confined in the  
Turret of the public Palace \*.

Marquis  
of *Man-  
tua* taken  
Prisoner.

## CÆSAR

\* *Leandro Alberti* ascribes all the Merit of this Exploit  
to *Girolamo Pompei*, who, he says, wrote to the *Venetian* Proveditors, that if they would send him Two Hundred  
Horse, he would, with the Assistance of the Mountaineers  
of *Carbone*, form a good Plot against the Marquis, on  
which they sent him *Malvezzo*, &c. In Evidence of  
this Assertion he quotes some Letters which he had seen,  
and the Privileges granted by the *Venetian* Council of  
Ten to the Pompeian Family in *Verona*.

CÆSAR had hitherto given no obstruction in any Quarter to the Progress of the *Venetians*, not being provided with a sufficient Force to take the Field, and losing his Time in the Mountains of *Vicenza*; where the Peasantry of those Parts, being well affected to the *Venetian* Name, and confiding in the Ruggedness of the Country, had broke out into open Rebellion. Descending afterwards into the Plain, when *Padoua* had been retaken by the *Venetians*, he was attacked, and not without Danger, by an infinite Number of Peasants who attended his Coming at a strong Pass; but he put them to Flight, and proceeded to *Scala* in the *Vicentine*. The *Venetian* Army had recovered a great Part of the Territory of *Vicenza*, and taken *Serravalle*, an important Pass, where they exercised great Cruelties upon the *Germans*. Wherefore *Maximilian* having a few Days after recovered that Place, retaliated the same Cruelties upon the *Italian* Soldiers, and upon the Inhabitants \*. And his Forces

U 2

not

\* *Mocenigo* says that the *Germans* made use of Dogs

xx

*A. D.* not increasing, he employed himself in  
*1509.* small Enterprises, now in taking one  
Castle, then in besieging another, very  
little to the Honour and Reputation of  
the *Cæsarean* Name, while at the same  
time he propos'd to the rest of the Con-  
federates, as his Imaginations were always  
greater than his Forces and Opportunities,  
to join their whole Strength together, and  
to seize upon the City of *Venice*, employ-  
*Maximi-* ing for that Purpose, besides their Prepa-  
*lian pro-* rations by Land, the Navies of the King  
*poses the* Conquest of *France*, and of the King of *Aragon*,  
*of Venice.* and the Pope's Gallies, which were now  
all joined together in one Fleet. To this  
Proposal, tho' not treated of in the Con-  
federacy at *Cambray*, the King of *France*  
would have consented, provided it were  
qualified with such Conditions as that the  
Acquisition might redound to the com-  
mon Advantage. But the Pope was  
averse to it; and as for the King of *Ara-  
gin*, both now and when formerly this  
Point

as the Instruments of their Cruelty to run upon the Scent  
in Search of the Women and Children, who sought to  
hide themselves among the Corn and in Caves, and with  
unusual Barbarity hunted after Christians as they would  
after wild Beasts.

A. D.

1509.

Point was more amply debated, he was against it, because he imagined it would be for the Benefit of the King of *France*, tho' he coloured his Dislike under pretence of its being a most unjust and dishonourable Undertaking.

WHILE the Countries about *Padoua*, *Vicenza* and *Verona* were thus ravaged by the *Germans* and *Italians*, the Province of *Friuli*, and that Part of *Istria* which was subject to the *Venetians* was exposed to most cruel Devastations. For the Prince of *Anhalt*, being ordered by *Cæsar* to make an Invasion into *Friuli* with Ten Thousand Men of the Militia, after he had in vain attacked *Monte Falcone*, besieged and took the Town and Castle of *Cadore*, with great Slaughter of the Defendants. On the other side, some light Horse, and some of the *Venetian* Foot, supported by a great Body of Peasants took by Storm the Town of *Valdisera*; and *Bellona*, where the *Germans* had no Garrison, surrendered to them upon Articles. Again the Duke of *Brunswick*, by Orders from *Cæsar*, after he had mis-

A. D. carried in his Design upon *Udine*, the  
<sup>1509.</sup> Capital of *Friuli*, went and laid Siege to  
*Cividale d' Austria*, situated on a rising  
Ground by the River *Natisone*, where  
*Federigo Contarino* commanded with a  
small Garrison, but he depended on the  
Courage of the Inhabitants, who were  
very resolute to defend themselves. *Gio.*  
*Pagolo Gradenigo*, Proveditor of *Friuli*,  
coming with Eight Hundred Horse and  
Five Hundred Foot to raise the Siege,  
was routed, and put to Flight by the  
*Germans*. But his Rout did not lessen the  
Courage of the Besieged, and tho' the  
Duke battered *Cividale*, and stormed it  
with great Fury, he could by no Means  
make himself Master of the Place. In  
*Istria*, *Christofano Frangipane*, near to the  
Castle of *Verme*, defeated the *Venetian*  
Commissaries supported by the Country  
People, and in consequence of his Victory  
burnt and plundered whatever came in  
his Way all over the Country, and made  
himself Master of *Castel Nuovo* and of the  
Town of *Raspruccchio*. To put a Stop to  
these Proceedings, the *Venetians* ordered  
thither *Angelo Trevisano*, Captain of their  
Navy,

Navy, with Sixteen Galleys, who took <sup>D. A.</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>1509.</sup> by Storm, at the first Attack, the Town ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> of *Fiume*, and attempted to get possession of the City of *Trieste*, but without Success. He afterwards recovered *Rasprucchio* by Force, and then returned with his Galleys towards *Venice*, leaving the Countries of *Istria* and *Friuli* in a deplorable Condition, for sometimes the *Venetians* being stronger, at other times the *Germans*, those Towns which were taken and plundered by one of them, were afterwards retaken and plundered by the others, and the same Alternative happened frequently, so that the Lives and Estates of the Inhabitants being exposed as a continual Prey, the whole Country was miserably exhausted and ruined.

WHILE the temporal Arms were thus employed, there were Disputes in *Rome* about the Use of the spiritual Weapons. Just before the Recovery of *Padua* the Six Ambassadors of the *Venetian Senate* made their Entry into *Rome* with a mournful Air and Equipage; and whereas they were accustomed to enter that City with <sup>Sad Entry</sup> <sup>of the</sup> <sup>Venetian</sup> <sup>Ambassa-</sup> <sup>dors into</sup> <sup>Rome.</sup>

*A. D.* the greatest Pomp and Magnificence, and  
*1509.* to be met by a Train of the whole Court, they now not only had no Honours nor Attendance paid them, but made their Entry, because the Pope would have it so, by Night. Nor were they admitted into the Presence of his Holiness, but directed to the Palace of the Cardinal of *Naples*, who, with other Cardinals and Prelates, was commission'd to treat with them; the Ambassadors of the King of the *Romans*, and of their most Christian and Catholic Majesties vehemently opposing their obtaining Absolution from the Ecclesiastic Censures; whilst the Archbishop of *York* openly declared in their Favour; he was sent to *Rome* by *Henry VIII*, who but a few Months before had succeeded his Father *Henry VII*, in the Kingdom of *England*, chiefly for this Purpose.

BUT the Attention of the Public was at this Time employed in Expectation of much greater Events: For *Cæsar*, having assembled all his own Forces, together with those he was supplied with from many

many Potentates, was preparing to march <sup>A. D.</sup>  
with a very powerful Army to besiege <sup>1509.</sup>  
*Padoua*. On the other Side the *Venetian*  
Senate, judging that their Safety wholly  
consisted in the Preservation of that City,  
attended, with the utmost Diligence, to  
make the necessary Provisions for its De-  
fence. For this End, besides the Garri-  
son of *Trevigi*, they ordered their whole  
Army to enter the Town, together with  
all the Forces which they had been able  
to collect from every Quarter, and fur-  
nished the Place with an infinite Quantity  
of Artillery of all Sorts, and Provisions,  
collected from all Parts of the Country,  
sufficient for many Months. They had  
also an innumerable Multitude of Peasants  
and Pioneers, by whose Labour, besides  
the making of Dams and Sluices, and  
strengthening them with great Quantities  
of Wood and Iron Bars, for preventing  
the Enemy from cutting off the Waters  
which were brought from near the Town  
of *Limine* to *Padoua*, they had also made,  
and were continually adding, surprising  
Fortifications to the Walls of the City.  
And yet, tho' they had made such Pro-  
visions,

*A. D.* <sup>1509.</sup> visions, that no greater could be desired, the Anxiety and Sollicitude of the *Venetian* Senate were not to be conceived, the Senators continually employing themselves both Day and Night in studying, recollecting, or proposing some new Means or other, which they thought proper to be used in the present Circumstance. And the Affair being of such Importance as to be the constant Subject of Debate in the Senate, *Leonardo Loredano*, their Doge, a Person venerable for his Age and the Dignity of his Office, and who had been in that high Station many Years, stood up, and spoke as follows :

*Speech of the Doge of Venice.* “ Since it evidently appears, most excellent Senators, that on the Preservation of the City of *Padua* depends not only all Hope of ever recovering our Empire, but even of preserving our own Liberty; and, on the contrary, that the Loss of *Padua* would most certainly be followed by the utter Ruin and Desolation of this Country, we must be obliged to confess that the Provisions and Preparations that have been hitherto made against such an Event,

Event, tho' very considerable and surprising, are yet not sufficient, whether it be in regard of what is requisite for the Security of that City, or what belongs to the Dignity of our Republic. For in an Affair of so great Importance, and of so great Danger, it is not enough that the Provisions we have made be so ample as to afford us mighty Hopes that *Padoua* may be defended by them: But it is requisite that they should be so powerful, as far as human Care and Industry can provide, to beget in us a Certainty that we shall secure the Place, and have nothing to dread from all such unforeseen Accidents as owe their Birth to Fortune, a very powerful Agent in all sublunary Affairs, but especially in those relating to War. Nor is it a Resolution worthy of the antient Fame and Glory of the *Venetian* Name, entirely to commit the Defence of the public Honour and Safety, and of our own Lives, with those of our Wives and Children, to the sole Valour and Resolution of Foreigners and mercenary Soldiers, and not rather run voluntarily ourselves into the Field of Action at the Head

A. D.  
1509.

*A. D.* Head of our own People, and fight with  
1509. Heart and Hand in defence of a Place of  
the last Importance. For if we come to be  
once dispossessed of *Padua*, it will be to  
no Purpose to exert our poor Remains  
of Strength, there will be then no Room  
left to display our Valour, and our Riches  
will be of no Use towards our Preserva-  
tion. But since happily it is not yet too  
late to assist our dear Country, we ought  
to take the greatest Pains, and exert our  
utmost Force for that Purpose, and not  
wait till we become a Prey to those cruel  
Wretches who long for nothing more  
than to plunder our Substance, and suck  
our Blood. The Preservation of our  
Country is not only attended with the  
public Good, but the Good and Welfare  
of every private Person are connected with  
the Safety of the Community. For if the  
Commonwealth be ruined and enslaved,  
who knows not that the Substance, the  
Honour, and the Lives of private Men  
must fall a Sacrifice to the Avarice, the  
Lust, and the Cruelty of the Enemy?  
But since the Defence of the Republic  
carries with it the Preservation of our  
Country,

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Country, is not this a sufficient Reward ? A Reward worthy of its generous Citizens, full of Glory and Splendor in the Eye of the World, and meritorious and acceptable in the Sight of God ? It is the Opinion even of the Heathens, that " there is a particular Place appointed in Heaven, in which all those who have relieved, preserved, or increased their Country, shall enjoy eternal Felicity ." \* And what Country was there ever in Being that more deserved to be assisted and maintained by its Children than this of ours ; which obtains, and has for many Ages obtained, the chief Place among all the Cities of the World ? and from which its Citizens reap vast and innumerable Conveniences, Profits, and Honours ? A City truly admirable, if we consider either its natural Advantages, or the Marks of its Grandeur from an almost perpetual Course of Prosperity, or the noble Qualities, and generous Disposition of its Inhabitants. Its Situation is most astonishing, it being the only City in the World that is seated amidst the salt Waters, and so compact in

Bene-

\* This Passage is taken from *Cicero's Somnium Scipionis*;

*A. D.* all its Parts, that it enjoys at once the  
<sup>1509.</sup> Benefits of the Water, and the Pleasures  
of the Land; secure, by its not being  
seated on the Continent, from Attacks  
by Land, and safe, by its Situation in  
shallow Waters, from naval Assaults.  
How stately are the Edifices, private as  
well as public: erected with incredible  
Cost and Magnificence, and full of the  
most ornamental Pieces of foreign Mar-  
ble, and rare Stones, imported from all  
Parts of the World! What an infinite  
Quantity of excellent Pictures, Statues,  
carved Pieces, and Ornaments of Mosaic  
Work! And what a Number of the  
most beautiful Columns, and other like  
Pieces of the most curious Workmanship!  
What City is there on the Face of the  
Earth that has a greater Concourse of  
Foreigners, who come hither partly for  
the Benefit of living securely in this free  
and blessed Country, and partly for the  
Sake of Commerce. Hence is *Venice*  
plentifully supplied with all Sorts of Mer-  
chandises and Manufactures, whence the  
Riches of our Citizens are continually in-  
creasing, and our Republic receives a  
this

greater Revenue within the Compass of this City only, than many Kings from their whole Kingdoms. I say nothing of the Numbers of learned Men in all Arts and Sciences, the Brightness of the Scholar, and the Bravery of the Soldier, by means of which, in conjunction with other Advantages, this Republic has acquired more Glory to itself and to its Subjects, from its Exploits, than ever any Nation obtained since the Time of the *Romans*. I omit to observe how surprising it is to see in a City where nothing grows, and which is very full of Inhabitants, a Superfluity of all Things. Our Command was at first confined to these barren and naked Rocks; but the brave Spirit of our Ancestors extended their Sway first over the nearest Seas, and the circumjacent Lands, from whence afterwards, by happy Successes, they enlarged their Dominion to more distant Seas and Provinces, and penetrated to the utmost Bounds of the East \*, acquiring so great an Empire by Sea and Land, and maintaining it so long

\* He means no more than the Eastermost Coasts of the *Levant*, or *Mediterranean Sea*, for the *Venetians* never sailed on the *Ocean*.

A. D. long a Time, still increasing their Power,  
1509. and enlarging their Bounds to such a  
Degree, that during a long Course of  
Years *Venice* was the Dread and Terror  
of all the other Cities of *Italy*, and no  
other Means was thought sufficient to  
humble and depress her, than a Concur-  
rence of the Frauds and Forces of all the  
Princes in Christendom. All our Prospe-  
rity may be justly attributed to the parti-  
cular Care of the Almighty ; for this City  
is celebrated throughout the World for  
an impartial Administration of Justice, the  
Name of which alone has induced many  
States and Nations voluntarily to submit  
to our Dominion. And what City, what  
Establishment, is more distinguished for  
Religion, and Piety towards the supreme  
Being than our dear Country, in which  
are so many religious Houses, and so  
great a Number of Churches, full of the  
richest and most costly Ornaments, and  
such a profuse and astonishing Sight of  
Vessels and Utensils dedicated to the di-  
vine Worship ? Where are there so many  
Hospitals, and charitable Foundations, in  
which Works of Charity are daily exercised

at

at a vast Expence, and with unspeakable *A. D.*  
Benefit to the Poor? In all these Re-*1509.*  
spects our Country deserves the Preference  
before all others. But there is one Pre-  
rogative in which she transcends all the  
Praises and Glory that she can ascribe to  
herself. Our Country had its Original and  
its Liberty at the same Time, and there  
is not a Citizen that is born or dies in  
*Venice*, but is born and dies free. Nor  
was this Liberty ever interrupted or di-  
sturbed, through the happy Effects of  
civil Concord, the Principles of which  
are so firmly rooted in the Minds of our  
People, that as soon as they enter into  
our Senate, and into our public Debates,  
they lay aside all private Contentions and  
Animosities. For the same Reason has  
our Form of Government, which is a  
Mixture of all that is most commendable  
in every Kind of public Administration,  
and composed with such Harmony as to  
be in every Part proportionable, and  
perfectly answerable to itself, lasted for  
so many Ages without civil Seditions,  
Wars or Bloodshed between its Citizens,  
and remained inviolable and unblemished.

## THE HISTORY OF

*A. D.* A Praise, which solely belongs to our  
*1509.* Republic, and is more than *Rome* or  
*Carthage*, *Athens* or *Lacedemon*, or any  
of those Republics that are the most cele-  
brated and extolled by the Antients could  
ever boast. And we have the Happiness  
to see established, among ourselves, such  
a Form of Government as the greatest  
Professors of Politics could never imagine  
or describe. Shall it then be said, that so  
great and so glorious a Country, which has  
stood so many Years the Bulwark of the  
Faith, and Splendor of the Christian Com-  
monwealth, has been destitute of the  
Affistance of her Sons and of her Citi-  
zens? Who is there among us that  
dares refuse to hazard his own Life,  
and the Lives of his Children for her  
Preservation? which intirely depending  
on the Defence of *Padua*, who can ex-  
cuse himself from voluntarily going thi-  
ther in Person to defend it? For tho'  
we were most certainly assured that we  
have a sufficient Strength in the Place,  
does it not concern our own Honour?  
does it not concern the Glory of the  
*Venetian* Name, that all the World should  
know

know that we ourselves run with the greatest Readiness and Alacrity to its Defence and Preservation ? It has been the Fate of *Venice*, that in a few Days we should be deprived of so great a part of our Empire : But we ought not to complain so much of the Malignity of Fortune, for such Events are common to all Republics and Kingdoms, as lament that we have been forgetful of our Constancy, which had hitherto remained unshaken ; and losing the Memory of so many generous and glorious Examples of our Ancestors, we yielded, with too sudden a Despair, to one powerful Stroke of Fortune ; and have not been Patterns to our Sons of that noble Fortitude and Resolution of which our Fathers had set us an Example. A Turn however is now given to Affairs, and an Opportunity offered, if we shew ourselves Men, of recovering an Ornament, which is not lost, but only mislaid. For by throwing ourselves boldly into Danger, and manfully resisting the Shocks of ill Fortune, we shall cancel the Disgrace we have undergone ; and when the World shall see that we have not yet lost

A. D.  
1509.

*A. D.* our antient Spirit and Valour, they will  
1509. rather ascribe our late calamitous Event  
to a necessary Fatality of the Times,  
which neither human Counfels nor Con-  
stancy were able to resist, than to our  
own Fault and Shame. If it were there-  
fore practicable for us in a Body to re-  
pair to *Padoua*, and to leave this City for  
some Days, without Prejudice to its De-  
fence, and other presling Necesfities of  
the public Busines, I should be the first  
that, without expecting your Resolution,  
should set out, since I know not how I  
can better spend these last Days of my  
old Age, than either in participating, with  
my Sight and Presence, of so glorious a  
Victory; or else, which God forbid, fall  
with my Fellow Citizens, and not survive  
the Ruin of my Country. But since  
*Venice* cannot be left without a public  
Magistracy, by whose Counfels, Provi-  
fions, and Orderings, *Padoua* is as much  
defended as by those who are in it, and  
the useleſſ Multitude of the ſuperannuated  
would rather be a Charge than a Safe-  
guard to that City; and on the other hand  
ſuch Accidents may happen, as to make

it

A. D.

1509.

it inconvenient to deprive *Venice* of all her Youth, for these Reasons my Thoughts and Advice are, that there be chosen Two Hundred of the principal of all our young Noblemen, each of them to be attended with a Number of Friends and Dependants in Arms, in proportion to his Abilities, and all to repair to *Padoua*, and there to act as much as shall be thought necessary in their Station for the Defence of the Town. My own two Sons, with a good Company of Attendants, shall be the first to execute what I, their Father and your Prince, have first proposed. I freely offer their Persons, in so great a Danger, to their Country. By this Means the City of *Padoua* will be rendered more secure, the mercenary Soldiers which are there in Garrison, when they see our Youth ready to mount the Guard, and to perform all the military Services, will be inspired with unspeakable Courage and Alacrity, as being assured, by finding themselves in conjunction with our Children, that we shall never let them want Provisions nor Reinforcements. And the noble Youth and others who

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to a necessary Fatality of the Times,  
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A. D.  
1509.

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*A. D.* are not to go upon this Service, will be  
*1509.* stimulated by so bright an Example, and  
animated to expose themselves in like  
manner, whenever it shall be required,  
to all manner of Fatigues and Dangers.  
Now then, O Senators, whose Words  
and Actions are observed as an Example  
to the whole City, let me conjure every  
one of you, according to his Circum-  
stances, to vye with one another in en-  
rolling your Sons in this honourable List,  
that they may participate of so great a  
Glory. For by this Means not only the  
Defence of *Padoua* will be rendered secure  
and certain, but all Nations will speak in  
our Praise, and distinguish us as the very  
Persons who, with the Hazard of our  
Lives, defended the Liberties, and fought  
for the Preservation, of the noblest and  
most deserving Country in the World."\*

THIS Speech of the Doge was heard  
with the utmost Attention and Approba-  
tion

\* The Doge sent his two Sons *Luigi* and *Bernardo*,  
with One Hundred Foot to *Padoua*; and the Number of  
the *Venetian* young Noblemen that went thither was  
Three Hundred (*Bembo* says One Hundred Seventy-six)  
who carried with them Ten Thousand Men. *Mocenigo.*

tion, and his Advice was put in Execution with all possible Speed. The Flower of the young *Venetian* Nobility, attended by as many of their Friends and Acquaintance as were fit to bear Arms, set out for *Padoua*, being accompanied to the Place of their Embarkation by all the rest of the Nobles, and an innumerable Multitude of others, who animated them with the highest Praises, bestowing on them Blessings, and magnifying to the Skies their Zeal and Forwardness in defence of their Country. Nor were they received with less Joyfulness and Applause in *Padoua*; both Officers and Soldiers extolling to the Heavens the Praises of those noble Youths, who, having never experienced the Fatigues nor Dangers of War, had preferred the Love of their Country to their own Lives. Thus mutually heartening and encouraging one another, with great Spirits, they joyfully expected the Coming of *Cæsar*.

THAT Prince, who hitherto had been employed in collecting together the Troops, which came from several Quar-

A. D.

1509.

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THAT Prince, who hitherto had been employed in collecting together the Troops, which came from several Quar-

*A. D.* <sup>1509.</sup> ters, was arrived at the Bridge of the *Brenta*, Three Miles from *Padoua*, and having made himself Master of *Limini*, and turned the Course of the Waters, expected his Artillery which was coming from *Germany*, and was very formidable both for Number and Size. Part of it was arrived at *Vicenza*, where *Filippo Rosso*, and *Federigo Gonzaga da Bozzolo* were sent to escort it with Two Hundred light Horse, but were attacked by Five Hundred light Horse that sallied out of *Padoua* under the Guidance of the Peasants, who in all that War were of excellent Service to the *Venetians*, and routed about Five Miles from *Vicenza*. *Filippo Rosso* was taken Prisoner, but *Federigo* dismounting, by favour of the Night escaped in his Shirt. *Maximilian* extended his Quarters from the Bridge of the *Brenta* Twelve Miles towards the Polesine of *Rovigo*, the better to open a Way for his Convoys of Provisions; and having taken by Storm and plundered the Castle of *Este*, he laid Siege to *Monfelice*; the Defendants abandoned the Town, and retired into the Castle, which, tho' seated

on

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on the Top of a high Rock, was taken in two Days. After this he had *Montagnana* surrendered to him upon Articles, and then returned towards *Padoua*, taking up his Quarters at the Bridge of *Bassanello* in the Neighbourhood of *Padoua*, where he attempted to turn the Course of the *Brenta*, which runs from thence to *Padoua*. In this Place having received all the Artillery and Ammunition which he expected, and having assembled all his Forces, which had been distributed into different Quarters, he approached the Town with all his Army, and having put Four Thousand Foot into the Suburb of *Santa Croce*, he had a Design to make the Attack on that Side. But being informed that the Town in that Place was stronger by Situation and by the Thickness of its Walls, as well as by additional Fortifications, having also received much Damage in his Quarters from the Artillery, he resolved to remove with all his Army before the Gate of *Portello*, which looks towards *Venice*, where the Town, as he had been informed, was weaker, and from whence he could better intercept all

Suc-

*A. D.* Succours coming to *Padoua*, either by  
*1509.* Land, or by Sea from *Venice*. But his  
Passage being obstructed by Marshes, and  
Waters that had overflowed the Country,  
he was obliged to fetch a great Compass,  
and came to the Bridge of *Bovolenta*, seven  
Miles from *Padoua*, where lies a Tract  
of Meadows along the River *Bacchiglione*. Into this Place, because it was  
surrounded with Waters, and in the se-  
curest Part of the *Padouan*, Three Thou-  
sand Peasants had retired with a vast  
Number of Cattle. These People were  
soon routed by the Vanguard of the *Span-  
ish* and *Italian* Infantry, and almost all  
of them killed or taken. And the  
Troops for two Days after employed them-  
selves in nothing but ravaging all the  
Country as far as the Sea, which was  
stocked with infinite Herds of Cattle;  
they also took several Boats on the  
*Brenta*, laden with Provisions for *Pa-  
doua*. At length on the 15th Day of  
*September*, after wasting a Deal of Time,  
and giving Leisure to the Enemy to for-  
tify themselves, and lay in Stores of Pro-  
visions, *Maximilian* opened the Siege  
before

*Siege of  
Padoua.*

before *Padoua*, and erected his Batteries against the Gate of *Portello*. *A. D.*  
*1509.*

Not in this Age, nor perhaps in many Ages had *Italy* ever seen a Siege that drew the Attention, or raised the Expectations of the Public to so high a Degree, both on account of the Nobleness of that City, and the Importance of the Events that depended on its Loss or Preservation.

**P A D O U A** is well known to be a very Descriptant and noble City, famous for its <sup>tion of the</sup> University. It is surrounded with a triple Wall, and the Rivers *Brenta* and *Bacchiglione* pass through it. It is of as great a Compass as perhaps any of the biggest Cities in *Italy*, is situated in a very plentiful Country, and in a wholesome and temperate Air. Tho' it has been above a Hundred Years depressed under the *Venetian* Government, who wrested it out of the Hands of the Family of *Carrara*, it has still grand and superb Edifices, and retains many remarkable Signs of Antiquity, by which you may judge of its former Greatness and Splendor.

ON

ON the Conquest or Defence of so great a City depended not only the Establishment or Decay of the *German* Empire in *Italy*, but also the Fate of the City of *Venice* itself. For if *Padoua* could be preserved, that Republic, vastly abounding in Riches, and by a firm Union of its Parts always in a Readiness to exert its whole Strength, nor subject, like the States of Princes to Variations, might reasonably hope, in no long Space of Time, to recover a good Part of its Dominions ; and on so much the better Grounds, as that the greater Part of their Subjects who had been desirous of a Change, not having found the Effects answerable to their Imaginations, and satisfied now by Experience of the Difference between the mild Government of the *Venetians* and that of the *Germans*, which was by no means suited to the Manners and Customs of the *Italians*, and now more disorderly on account of the Confusions and Damages occasioned by the War, began to turn their Eyes to their antient Lords, and wish to return under their

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their former Subjection. But, on the contrary, if *Padoua* should be lost, the *Venetians* would with it lose all Hopes of restoring their Republic to its antient Splendor; and it was very much to be feared that even the City of *Venice* itself, being deprived of so great an Empire, and very much impoverished by the Diminution of the public Revenues, and the Loss of so many Estates possessed by private Men on the *Terra firma*, would be disabled from defending itself against the Arms of the confederate Princes, or at least would, in proceſſ of Time, become a Prey no less to the *Turks* (on whom they bordered by a large Extent of Land, and with whom they were always engaged in War, or in an unsafe and precarious Peace) than to the Christian Princes.

BUT the Opinion of the Public concerning the Success of this Enterprise was no less doubtful, for the vast Apparatus of War that presented itself on each Side held the Judgment of the Spectators in great Suspense, who were utterly at a Loss

## THE HISTORY OF

Loss in their Conjectures concerning the Success of the Attack or Defence. For *Cæsar* had in his Army, besides Seven Hundred Lances from the King of *France* under the Command of *la Palisse*, Two Hundred Men at Arms sent to his Assistance by the Pope, Two Hundred more sent him by the Duke of *Ferrara*, which were under the Cardinal of *Este*, tho' the Differences were not yet compounded between the two Brothers. He had also under different Officers Six Hundred *Italian* Men at Arms in his own Pay. Nor was his Infantry less considerable than his Cavalry; for he had Eighteen Thousand *Germans*, Six Thousand *Spaniards*, Six Thousand Volunteers of different Nations, and the Regiment of *Este*, consisting of Two Thousand *Italians*, conducted and paid by the Cardinal of that Name \*. This Army was attended with an astonishing Train of Artillery, and a prodigious Quantity of Ammunition, Part of which was furnished by the King of *France*.

And

\* *Bembo* tells us that the Army which *Cæsar* had before *Padoua* was supposed to consist of above Eighty Thousand; and *Mocenigo* makes them to amount to One Hundred Thousand.

And tho' *Maximilian*'s own Soldiers, for the greatest Part of the Time, had received no Pay, yet the Grandeur and Authority of so great a General, with the Hopes of the Plunder and Saccage of *Padoua*, and afterwards making Havock of all that the *Venetians* had still in Possession, were Encouragements for persevering in his Service. And indeed his Army rather increased every Day, and Men were continually listing under his Standard ; for every one knew and was persuaded that he was a Prince very liberal by Nature, and full of Humanity towards his Soldiers ; and that if he failed in his Payments, it was not owing to Avarice or Unwillingness, but purely to Inability.

Such was the Number and Strength of *Cæsar*'s Army, composed of his own Forces and those of the Allies, who also contributed towards the Maintenance of his Troops. \* But the Army which the *Venetians* had placed in *Padoua* was no less

\* The *Venetian* Garrison in *Padoua* consisted of Fourteen Thousand Foot, Six Hundred Men at Arms, Seven Hundred Stradiotti, and Fifteen Hundred Archers with Cross Bows on Horseback. *Bembo*.

*A. D.* less powerful, so far as was necessary for  
*1509.* the Defence of that City. For there were  
within the Place Six Hundred Men at  
Arms, Fifteen Hundred light Horse, and  
One Thousand Stradiotti under famous  
and experienced Officers. Count *Piti-*  
*giano* was Commander in chief, and had  
under him *Bernardino dal Montone*, *An-*  
*tonio de' Pii*, *Lucio Malvezzo*, *Giovanni*  
*Greco*, and many other subordinate Offi-  
cers. These were the Cavalry ; the In-  
fantry consisted of Twelve Thousand  
Foot of the best disciplined Soldiers in  
*Italy*, and were commanded by *Dionigi*  
*di Naldo*, *Zitolo da Perugia*, *Lattantio da*  
*Bergamo*, *Saccoccio da Spoleto*, and many  
other Leaders. There were also Ten  
Thousand Foot between *Sclavonians*,  
*Greeks* and *Albanians*, taken out of the  
Galleys, of which tho' many were of no  
great Use, being unexpert in military  
Affairs, yet some of them proved of  
great Service. To all these must be added  
the *Venetian* Youth, with their Attend-  
ants, who, tho' hitherto rather conspicu-  
ous for their Nobility, and Love to their  
Country, yet their bravely exposing them-  
selves

D. A.

1509.

selves to Dangers, and animating the others by their own Example to do their Duty, did not a little contribute to the Defence of the Place. Besides the numerous Garrison, the City was abundantly furnished with all Sorts of necessary Provisions and Stores, a very numerous Artillery, and vast Quantities of Victuals of every Kind, the Peasants being as careful to bring their Provisions into the Place for their own Security and Subsistence, as the *Venetian* Commissaries were in providing and giving Orders for continual Supplies. The Multitude of hired Labourers and Pioneers, who worked without ceasing, was almost innumerable; so that the City, which was very strong in the Number and Resolution of the Defendants, was rendered incomparably stronger by the new Works and Fortifications made to the outward Circuit of the Walls which surrounded the whole City. For they had raised the Waters that run about the Walls of *Padoua* to a great Height throughout the Ditch, and at every Gate of the Town, and in other convenient Places had erected a Number of Bastions

Fortifica-  
tions of  
*Padoua*.

4. D. without the Wall, but joining to it, and  
1509 communicating with the Town ; these  
Bastions were well furnished with Artil-  
lery for playing on the Enemy if they  
should enter the Ditch. And that the  
Loss of the Bastions might not endanger  
the Town, they were all undermined  
throughout, and many Barrels of Gun-  
powder placed under them, for blowing  
them up when they could no longer be  
maintained. And because they would  
not entirely depend on the Strength and  
Thickness of the old Walls, tho' they  
had before carefully surveyed them, and  
where it was needful repaired them, and  
cut off all the Battlements, they erected  
on the Inside, quite round the City, a Pali-  
sade of Stakes, cut Trees, and other Pieces  
of Wood, distant from the Wall as much  
as its Thickness, and filled up the Space  
between them to the Height of the Wall,  
with Earth rammed and consolidated with  
the greatest Diligence. A prodigious  
Work, of incredible Fatigue, in which  
an infinite Number of Hands were em-  
ployed ! Yet all this not being sufficient  
to satisfy those who were appointed to  
take

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take care of the Works, for the Defence of the City, behind the Wall they had thus doubled in Thickness, they dug a deep Ditch, sixteen Braces wide, which narrowed at the Bottom, and had such a Number of Casemates within it, and small Redoubts furnished with Artillery, that it seemed impossible to be mastered; and those Works were all undermined like the Bastions, and might easily be blown up and ruined. And that they might be the better prepared for all Accidents, behind the Ditch they raised a Rampart of the same or a greater Breadth, and carried it quite round the Town, except at a few Places on which they knew it was impossible to plant any Cannon. Before this Rampart they erected a Parapet of seven Braces, which covered those who were appointed for the Defence of the Rampart from the Fire of the Enemy's Artillery. And that the Courage and Resolution of the Soldiers, and Inhabitants of the Place might be suitable to the Greatness of the Provisions and Fortifications, Count *Pitigliano* called a general Assembly of them into the Square of

A. D. <sup>1509.</sup> *Sant Antonio*, where he exhorted them, in a grave and manly Speech, to take due Care of their Safety, and of their Honour; and bound himself, with the rest of the General Officers, and the whole Army, and the *Padouans* with a solemn Oath faithfully to persevere in the Defence of the City till Death.

S U C H were the mighty Preparations on both Sides when *Cæsar* sat down with his Army before the Walls of *Padoua*, his Camp extending from the Gate of *Portello* to that of *Ognisanti*, which leads to *Trevigi*, and afterwards enlarging itself to the Gate of *Codalunga*, by which you go to *Cittadella*, contained in Length Three Miles. He himself took up his Quarters in the Monastery of *Sant Helena*, a Quarter of a Mile distant from the Walls of the City, almost in the Middle of the *German* Infantry; and having assigned to every one his Post, according to their several Quarters and Nations, he began to plant his Cannon, which were very numerous, and some of them of an extravagant and almost stupendous Size.

But

But because the whole Camp, and particularly the Places where he endeavoured to erect his Batteries, were much annoyed by the Cannon of the Besieged, he could not effect his Design without much Time and Difficulty. At length however *Cæsar* himself with invincible Resolution of Mind, and a Body capable of enduring all Fatigues, hurrying here and there both Night and Day, attending in Person to the Management of every important Affair, and continually stimulating the Workmen with the greatest Sollicitude to compleat the Batteries, the Cannon were almost all mounted on the fifth Day. On the same Day the *French*, and the *German* Foot, on that Quarter where *M. la Palisse* commanded, made an Attack on a Ravelin of the Gate, tho' more for an Experiment, than to carry on a regular Assault; but finding that the Besieged made a resolute Defence, they soon retired to their Quarters. The next Day the Artillery played briskly from all the Batteries, and by their enormous Size and the vast Quantity of Powder with which they were charged, the Rampart

was

*A. D.* was penetrated, the Houses next to the  
*1509.* Walls beat down, and very wide Breaches  
were made in many Parts of the Wall,  
and a Bastion erected at the Gate of *Ognisanti* was almost levelled to the Ground.  
The Besieged however betrayed not the  
least Sign of Fear, but annoyed the  
whole Army with their Cannon. And  
the Stradiotti, who undauntedly lodged in  
the Suburbs, and refused to retire to their  
Quarters in the City, and the light Horse  
made continual Excursions over the Coun-  
try, and, sometimes beating up the Enemies  
Quarters before or behind, sometimes at-  
tacking their Convoys of Forage and Pro-  
visions, and scouring and ravaging all the  
Country, cut of all Communication with  
the Army by all the Roads, except by  
that which goes from *Padoua* to *Monte  
d' Abano*. And yet in the Enemy's  
Camp there was Plenty of Provisions, of  
which they had found the Houses and  
Fields were full, for neither the Fears  
of the Peasants, nor the Care and Sollici-  
tude of the *Venetians*, nor the infinite  
Damages sustained from the Soldiers on  
every Side, were capable of exhausting  
the

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the vast Abundance of that most delightful and fertile Country. During the Siege Lucio Malvezzo marched out of *Padoua* with a good Body of Horse, to convoy into the Place Forty Thousand Ducats sent from *Venice*; and tho' his Rear was attacked by the Enemy, he secured the Money, and brought it safe into the Town, tho' with the Loss of some of his Men at Arms.

ON the Ninth Day of the Siege the Artillery had done such Execution, and the Breaches were so wide, that it was thought unnecessary to continue firing from the Batteries, and the next Day the Troops were drawn up in order of Battle, with a Design to give a general Assault with the whole Army. But on receiving Information that the Besieged had the same Night again raised the Waters in the Ditch which before were fallen, *Cæsar* not willing to expose his Soldiers to most manifest Danger, they returned every Man to his Quarters. The next Day the Waters being again fallen, an unsuccessful Assault was given to the Bastion

*A. D.* erected at the Point of the Gate of *Codalunga*.  
*1509.*

*Cæsar* resolving to use his utmost Efforts to make himself Master of that Post, directed all the Artillery from the *French Quarters*, which were between the Gates of *Ognisanti* and *Codalunga*, to play upon it; which having ruined Part of it, he ordered it to be attacked by the *German* and *Spanish* Infantry, accompanied by some Men at Arms on Foot. The Troops behaved very bravely, mounted the Bastion, and planted two of their Colours upon it. But such was the Strength of the Ditch, and the Valour of the Defendants, among whom *Zitolo da Perugia* signalized himself, and was much wounded, and such the Plenty of Instruments used by the Besieged for the Defence of the Place, as Showers of Stones, and Quantities of Wildfire, besides their Cannon and small Arms, that the Assailants were forced to quit the Bastion with Precipitation, having many of their Men killed and wounded \*. Wherefore

An Af-  
sault mis-  
carried.

the

\* *Zitolo da Perugia*, who was appointed to guard that Post, suffered the Enemy to mount the Bastion, and plant their

the Army, which was drawn up in order to storm the Walls as soon as the <sup>A. D.</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>1509.</sup> Bastion should be taken, which they expected, retired and laid aside their Arms, without attempting any thing.

THE ill Success of this Attack made *Cæsar* despair of accomplishing his Enterprize, and therefore he resolved to decamp ; and having sent away his Cannon to a Place of Security, on the Sixteenth Day after he had opened the Trenches before *Padoua* he retired with <sup>Siege of</sup> all his Army to the Town of *Limini* that <sup>*Padoua* raised.</sup> lies towards *Trevigi* ; from whence he went by slow Marches to *Vicenza*. Here he received the Oath of Fidelity from the *Vicentines*, and then disbanding almost his whole Army, he proceeded to *Verona*, under great Disgrace for the ill Success of his Arms. He was highly blamed, not only in the Army but all over *Italy*, for his ill concerted Measures, and no less for the Manner of executing what had been

their Colours upon it, and then sallied upon them, and setting Fire to some Powder provided for that Purpose, made a terrible Slaughter with Fire and Sword. *Moc.*

*A. D.* thus imprudently concerted. For it was  
1509. not doubted but that the Failure of ac-  
quiring *Trevigi*, and the Loss of *Padoua*  
were both owing to himself; and also  
that his Delays in appearing before *Pa-  
doua* had greatly hindered the Taking of  
that Place. For by that Means the *Vene-  
tians* had Time to provide that City with  
a strong Garrison, and vast Plenty of Pro-  
visions, and to make those surprising Re-  
pairs and Fortifications. He did not  
deny but that the Lateness of his Com-  
ing was the Cause of that Miscarriage,  
but he endeavoured to remove the Fault  
from his own irresolute and disorderly  
Management, and throw the Blame upon  
others: Complaining of the Pope and of  
the King of *France*, that the first by  
granting Permission to the *Venetian* Am-  
bassadors to come to *Rome*, and the other  
by delaying to send him the Assistance of  
his Troops, had given Occasion to believe  
that they were fallen off from him.  
Hence the Highlanders of the Mountains  
of *Vicenza* were encouraged to rebel  
against him, and he had spent many  
Days in subduing them; from the same  
Cause

Cause he had afterwards met with the like Difficulties in the Plains, that in order to extend himself, and to secure his Convoys of Provisions, and to free himself from many Difficulties and Molestation, he had been first obliged to take all the Towns in the Country. The late Coming of the *French* had not only injured him in this Respect, but if they had arrived in Season the Rebellion of *Padua* would not have happened. Encouraged by these Proceedings, and because the King of *France* and the King of *Aragon* had also laid up their Fleets, the *Venetians* laid aside all Fear, and were at liberty to fortify and supply *Padua* as they thought fit. Besides all this, he complained also of the King of *Aragon*, who was pleased to see him in Difficulties, that he might be the sooner induced to give his Consent that the Government of the Kingdom of *Castile* should remain in his Hands. But his Complaints did him no Service, nor tended in the least to recover his lost Authority, the World being sensible that it was through his own Conduct he had not made a proper Use of such

fair

*A. D.* fair Opportunities. But tho' this was a  
1509. general Censure which the Public passed  
upon him, his Miscarriage was very grate-  
ful however to the King of *France*, nor  
was the Pope displeased at it; for he was  
naturally jealous and distrustful of every  
body, and considering with himself that  
*Maximilian* had always wanted Money,  
and was very importunate in demanding  
it, he could not see with Pleasure the In-  
crease of his Power and Influence in  
*Italy*.

*Agree-  
ment be-  
tween  
Cæsar and  
the Flo-  
rentines.* *A* T *Verona* *Cæsar* received the Oath  
of Fidelity from the Inhabitants, and  
gave Audience to the *Florentine* Ambassa-  
dors, among whom was *Piero Guic-  
ciardini*, my Father. They entered into  
an Agreement with him in the Name of  
their Republic, which was induced,  
among other Reasons, by the Persuasions  
of the King of *France*, to pay him in a  
short Time Forty Thousand Ducats, in  
consideration of which Obligation they  
obtained of him, in most ample Form and  
Manner, the Privileges of a Confirma-  
tion of the Liberties as well of the City  
of

of *Florence*, as of the Dominion and <sup>A. D.</sup> Jurisdiction of the Towns and States in <sup>1509.</sup> their Possession, with a Release from all Debts due in Times past \*.

CÆSAR having now taken a Resolution to return into *Germany*, in order, as he declared, to make Preparations for carrying on the War next Spring, sent for *Chaumont*, to confer with him about the present State of Affairs. He received that General at the Village of *Arse* in the *Veronese*, and shewed him the Danger of the Recovery of *Cittadella* and *Bassano* by the *Venetians*, who being mightily flushed with their Success in the Defence of *Padoua*, were preparing to attack those important Places, the Reduction of which would probably be soon followed by that of *Monselice*, *Montagnana*, and *Este*. That besides the Preservation of these Towns it

was

\* *Piero Guicciardini*, our Author's Father, was Ambassador for *Florence* to *Maximilian* when he lay before *Padoua*, and was afterwards sent with the same Character to Pope *Leo X*, to whom he made a very fine Oration in the Name of his Republic. That Government had also bestowed on him many honourable and important Posts, as they usually did on those of that illustrious Family. *Porcacchi.*

*A. D.* was no less requisite to think of recovering *Lignago*; and that, as he was unable, of himself alone, to make the necessary Provisions for these Purposes, he required the Assistance of the King, whose own Affairs would be endangered by neglecting to support him. As to these Demands of *Cæsar*, *Chaumont* could give no positive Answer, but promised to lay them before the King his Master, giving him Hopes that the Answer would be conformable to his Desire.

A F T E R this Conference *Maximilian* set out for *Chiusa*, leaving the Marquis of *Brandenburg* Governor of *Verona*. Soon after *Palisse*, who with Five Hundred Lances had remained in the *Veronese*, representing to *Cæsar* the Difficulty of his Quarters, and many other Inconveniences, obtained of him by his Importunities a Dismission, and retired within the Borders of the Dutchy of *Milan*. For it was the King's Intention that while his Troops remained unactive in Garrisons, they should be stationed in his own Dominions; but when the Service of *Maximilian* required

A. D.  
1509.

quired their Assistance, they should be ready to go upon any Enterprise on which he would please to employ them, particularly that of *Lignago*, which was desired, and mightily sollicited by him. But that Undertaking was so long deferred by *Cæsar's* usual Incumbrances and Difficulties, that the great Rains coming on with the Season, rendered it impracticable for an Army to keep the Field in that Country, which by its low Situation is much overflowed with Water. *Maximilian* therefore being reduced to these Straits desired a Truce of the *Venetians* for some Months. But they taking Courage from his Distresses, and seeing him but coldly assisted by his Confederates, judged that a Suspension of Arms would not be for their Advantage.

CÆSAR at last returned to *Trent*, leaving his Affairs in great Hazard, and the State of *Italy* in no small Suspense. For a new Quarrel had arisen between the Pope and the King of *France*, which, tho' it seemed to have but a slight Foundation, was suspected to proceed from some secret

Difference  
between  
the Pope  
and the  
French  
King.

A. D. 1509. cret Cause of more Importance. The Occasion, as far as it then appeared, was, that a Bishopric in *Provence* becoming vacant by the Death of the Bishop who was at the Court of *Rome*, the Pope had disposed of it contrary to the Will of the King of *France*, who pretended that his Holiness had in this Proceeding acted contrary to the Capitulations made between them by means of the Cardinal of *Pavia*, in which tho' it was not expressly mentioned that the same Custom should be observed with respect to those Bishoprics that should become vacant in the Court of *Rome*, as to those that became vacant in other Places, yet the Cardinal had promised him as much in Words. This, the Cardinal said, was not true; perhaps rather out of Fear than for any other Reason. But the King affirming that it was so, the Pope said that he did not know what had been secretly treated of, but that having in his Ratification referred to what appeared in the Instrument, which expressly specified the Capitulation, Article after Article, in none of which the particular Case of Bishops

Bishops dying in the Court of *Rome* was comprehended, he was not obliged any further. This Answer so provoked the King, that, disregarding the Advice of the Cardinal of *Rouen*, who had always recommended a good Understanding with the Pope, he put under Sequestration the Profits of all the Benefices in the State of *Milan*, which were enjoyed by the Clergy that resided in the Court of *Rome*. The Pope, on the other hand, refused to make the Bishop of *Albi* a Cardinal, who was gone to *Rome* in expectation of that Dignity, according to the Promise made to the King. And tho' the Pope, suffering himself to be overcome by a Multitude of Intreaties, disposed at last of the Bishopric in *Provence* according to the King's Desire, and entered into a new Agreement with him as to the Manner of Proceeding in the Case of Benefices that should for the future become vacant in the Court of *Rome*, in consequence of which on one Side the Sequestration should be taken off, and on the other Part the Cardinal's Hat should be bestowed on the Bishop of *Albi*, yet this did not quiet the Mind of the Pope,

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*A. D.* which was exasperated on many Accounts:  
*1509.*

He was in particular much chagrined that having, in the Beginning of his Pontificate, granted to the Cardinal of *Rouen* the Legateship of the Kingdom of *France*, tho' much against his Inclination, as being detrimental to the Court of *Rome*, and prejudicial to his own Authority, he should be constrained, to his great Mortification, to continue the same, out of fear of displeasing the King of *France*. And therefore persuading himself that this Cardinal bent all his Thoughts, and employed all his Art and Means for obtaining the Pontificate, he was jealous of the Progres, and alarmed at every Movement of the *French*.

THESE were the apparent Causes of the Pope's Resentment, but his future Conduct made it manifest that he had higher Ends in View. For either from a Thirst after Glory, or a secret Hatred against the King of *France*, or a Desire of restoring the *Genoese* to their Liberty, he most ardently longed to see the *French* dispossessed of all that they held in *Italy*, and was for ever com-

complaining in a disrespectful Manner of the King and the Cardinal, but in such a <sup>A. D.</sup> <sup>1509.</sup> Manner as the World might think that his Dissatisfaction proceeded principally from Fear. Yet as he was by Nature of a resolute and invincible Spirit, the Disposition of his Mind frequently displayed itself in his outward Behaviour; for he had proposed to himself such Projects as were not only of vast Importance, but very difficult to be compassed; and at the same Time he had such an Opinion of his own Talents, and of the Reverence and Authority which he knew that the Apostolic See had obtained with Princes, that he scorned to act in Dependence or Conjunction. Thus declaring in Words as well as Deeds the slight Opinion he had conceived of every one, he neither communicated his Designs to *Maximilian*, nor entered into any private Correspondence with the Catholic King, but was reserved to all, shewing no Propensity to any but the *Venetians*, confirming himself <sup>Pope in-</sup> more and more every Day in his Resolution to absolve them, because he thought <sup>absolve</sup> the *Vene-* it highly conducive to the Safety of *Italy*, <sup>tians.</sup>

A. D. as well as to his own Security and Grandeur, not to suffer them to perish. Their Absolution was strenuously opposed by the Ambassadors of *Cæsar* and of the King of *France*, the Ambassadors of the King of *Aragon* concurring with them in Public, tho' the King their Master, being under Apprehensions for his Kingdom of *Naples*, which he thought in danger from the Greatness of the King of *France*, and putting no Confidence in *Cæsar* on account of his Instability, privately sollicited the Pope to absolve them.

Remon-  
strance  
against it.

THE Ambassadors represented that it was very improper for his Holiness to grant so signal a Favour to those whom he was bound to prosecute with his Arms, since by the League of *Cambray* each of the Confederates was bound to assist the others, till every one had acquired what was agreed on according to the Articles, *Cæsar*, then, not having got possession of *Trevigi*, none of them was yet free from that Obligation. Besides his Holiness might with Justice deny Absolution to the *Venetians*, because they had neither

volun-

A. D.  
1509.

voluntarily, nor within the Time appointed by the Monitory, made restitution to the Church of the Towns in *Romagna*, and had not even to this Day yielded intire Obedience, because they were admonished to restore besides the Towns, the Profits they had received, with which they had not complied.

To this the Pope answered, that since <sup>The</sup> the Offenders were brought to Repen- <sup>Pope's</sup> <sub>Answer.</sub> tance, and in the most humble Manner to demand Absolution, it was not the Duty of the Vicar of Christ to continue persecuting them with spiritual Arms, in prejudice to the Salvation of so many Souls: That the Towns were restored, and consequently the Cause for which the Censures were inflicted was ceased: That as to the Restitution of the Profits received, it was but an accessary Thing, and inserted more for an Aggravation of their Disobedience, than for any other Reason, and therefore to be disregarded when the principal Demand was granted: That there was indeed a different Cause for prosecuting them with his temporal Arms, and there-

Z 3 fore

*A. D.* fore he had determined to adhere to the  
*1509.* League of *Cambray*, and offered himself ready to concur with the others, tho' as to the Point of *Trevigi* every one of the Confederates might justly disengage himself, because the King of the *Romans* had failed of acquiring that City purely by his own Fault, in refusing the first Offers, made him by the *Venetians* by their Ambassador *Antonio Giustiniano*, to leave him all that they possessed on the *Terra firma*, and declining to accept the Proposals which have since been frequently made him of a proper Compensation in Exchange for that Town.

THUS, tho' the Remonstrances of the Ambassadors had no Effect in restraining the Pope from granting his Absolution to the *Venetians*, he was however retarded from giving it purely by his Greatness of Spirit: For tho' he esteemed it beneficial to himself, and conducive to the End he had proposed, yet he was determined not to grant it but in a Manner becoming the high Dignity of the Apostolic See, and so as that the Rights of the Church might be

A. D.

1509.

be entirely freed for the future from their Oppressions. The *Venetians* therefore refusing to give their Consent to two Conditions which, among many others, he had proposed to them, he deferred their Absolution. One of these Conditions was, that they should leave the Navigation of the *Adriatic* Sea free to the Subjects of the Church, which they had forbidden to all those who did not pay them certain Duties for the Goods they carried. The other was, that they should no longer keep in *Ferrara*, a City dependent on the Church, a Magistrate under the Title of *Bisdomino* \*.

THE *Venetians* alledged in their Behalf Answer of the *Vene-*  
*tians*. that this Magistrate was introduced with

Z 4 Op-

\* This Magistrate, called the *Bisdomino* or *Vidomino*, was introduced by the *Venetians* into *Ferrara* by the Peace they made with *Alberto Este*, who had made War with them in defence of the young *Francesco Carrara*. *Giustin*. The *Venetians* assisting *Fresco* against *Francesco d'Este*, the *Ferrarese*, and *Cardinal Palaguro*, and getting the upper Hand, made a Peace upon Condition that they should constitute in *Ferrara* a *Podestate*, who was afterwards called the *Vidomino*; the first appointed was in the Year 1308. *Sabellicus*.

*A. D.* Opposition from *Clement VI*, the *Roman*  
*1509.* Pontiff, who at that Time resided with his Court in the City of *Avignon*: That the Dominion and Custody of the *Gulph* were granted to them, with very ample Privileges, by Pope *Alexander IV*, to which he was induced by considering that they had by their Arms and their Valour, and at a vast Expence, guarded that Sea against the *Saracens* and Pirates, and rendered the Navigation of it safe to the Christians.

Pope's  
Reply.

To this it was replied, on the Part of the Pope, that the *Ferrarese* had it not in their Power to consent that a Magistrate should be kept, or Jurisdiction exercised in *Ferrara* by other Potentates in prejudice of the Ecclesiastic Sovereignty: That the People of *Ferrara* had not given their Consent voluntarily, but compelled by a long and burdensome War; and, after soliciting in vain the Assistance of the Pope, whose Consent the *Venetians* despised, had accepted of Peace on such Conditions as those who prevailed against them more by Arms than by Arguments were

A. D.  
1509.

were pleased to prescribe. As to the Grant of *Alexander*, there did not appear, either in History or in any written Record, the least Trace of it ; that its Credibility rested intirely on the Testimony of the *Venetians* themselves, which in their own Cause, and in so weighty a Matter, was justly to be suspected. And even if any Deed of such a Concession of *Alexander* should be extant, it was more probable that it was extorted from him (who, as they say, granted it in *Venice*) by Fear or Menaces, than that a *Roman* Pontiff, who was, above all others, concerned to patronise Justice, and to relieve the Oppressed, would pass a Grant of so imperious and domineering a Power, and so injurious to Mankind.

IN this State of Affairs, while the Princes were of different Minds, and the King of the *Romans* much decayed in Power and Reputation, the *Venetians* ordered their Army, under the Proveditor *Gritti*, to march to *Vicenza*, where they knew that the People had an Inclination to return under their Dominion. They

ap-

A. D.  
1509.Vicenza  
retaken  
by the  
Venetians.

approached the City in the Night, and, under the Fire of their Cannon, made themselves Masters of the Suburb of *Pof-terla*, with little Hopes of taking the Town, tho' there was but a small Garrison, when the Inhabitants, at the Instigation, as it was said, of *Fracassa*, sent out at Midnight some trusty Messengers, who introduced them into the City, the Prince of *Anhalt* and *Fracassa* retiring into the Castle. And it was the general Opinion, that if the *Venetian* Army had, upon taking possession of *Vicenza*, marched directly to *Verona*, they might have had the same Success in retaking that City. But the Generals did not think fit to leave *Vicenza* before they had made themselves Masters of the Castle, which fell into their Hands four Days after; for the Prince of *Anhalt* and *Fracassa* abandoned the Place, finding it too weak to be defended. At the same time some fresh Recruits from *Cæsar*, and Three Hundred Lances under *Aubigni*, sent by the King of *France*, entered *Verona*; so that the Garrison now consisting of Five Hundred Lances, and Five Thousand *Spanish* and *German*,

*German* Infantry, the Place could not easily be taken. The *Venetian* Army <sup>A. D.</sup> ~~1509.~~ however approached that City, marching in two Divisions, in each of which were Three Hundred Men at Arms, Five Hundred light Horse, and Three Thousand Foot, in Hopes of some Commotion in the City on their first Appearance. But they not presenting themselves before the Walls at once with their whole Force, the Garrison made a Sally on the first Division which approached on the Side beyond the River *Adice*, and tho' they had entered the Suburb, obliged them to retire. But soon after *Lucio Malvezzo* coming to their Assistance with the second Division from the other Side of the River, they drove back the Enemy into the Town; the whole Army being now joined, they removed, and encamped at the Village of *Martino*, five Miles from *Verona*. While they lay here they received Advice that Two Thousand *German* Foot had marched out of *Basciano* in order to ravage the Country about *Cittadella*; on which they put themselves in Motion, and inclosed the Enemy in the Valley of *Fidata*.

But

A. D. But the *Germans* receiving some Assistance  
1509. from *Basciano*, forced their Way through  
the narrow Passes, tho' not without Loss.  
The *Venetians* afterwards took possession  
of *Basciano*, which the *Germans* had  
abandoned; and from *Basciano* part of  
their Army proceeded to *Feltro* and *Civi-*  
*dale*, and, after recovering these Towns,  
pursued their March to *Rocca della Scala*,  
which they took soon after they had raised  
a Battery against it.

At the same time *Antonio* and *Girola-*  
*mo da Savorniano*, two Noblemen of *Friuli*  
who were of the *Venetian* Party, took  
*Castel nuovo*, a Fortress situated on the  
Top of a rugged Mountain in the Middle  
of *Patria*, which is the Name given to  
that Part of *Friuli* that lies beyond the  
*River Tigliavento*. *Cæsar* was come to  
*Pietra*, all in a Hurry, and much disturbed  
at the Loss of *Vicenza*; but nothing  
further was heard of him, but flying Re-  
ports, and that he was in continual Mo-  
tion from Place to Place, on some Ex-  
ploit or other, but to little Effect.

A. D.

1509.

THE Venetian Army, after taking Rocca della Scala, moved towards Monfelic and Montagnana, in order to recover the Polefina of Rovigo, and to invade the Ferrarese at the same Time that their naval Armament entered it by the River Po. The Senate resolved on this Expedition contrary to the Advice of the more prudent Senators, who judged it too rash a Measure to involve themselves in new Enterprises \*. But what animated them to this Undertaking was not so much the present Benefit that might be expected from it, as their bitter Resentment of the Proceedings of the Duke of Ferrara. For tho' they could not justly complain of what he had done to free himself from the Yoke of the Bisdomino, and to recover the Polefina, yet they thought it intolerable that, not contented with what rightfully belonged to him, he had received

\* One of the Senators who opposed this Enterprise was Angelo Trevisano who commanded the Fleet; He represented to the Senate the great Risque that the Vessels must run in passing up the Po, both on account of the many Fortifications which the Duke had erected on the Banks, and because of the Shallowness of the Water. Bembo.

A. D. 1509. ceived in Fee of *Cæsar*, when he raised the Siege of *Padua*, the Castle of *Eſte*,

*Venetians*  
provoked  
at the  
Duke of  
*Ferrara.* from whence the Family of *Eſte* takes its Name and Origin; and had accepted in Pledge, as Security for Moneys lent, the Castle of *Montagnana*, to which two

Places he pretended no Right. They well remembered also that the Troops of the Duke, in their Recovery of the *Polesine*, incited by their extreme Malice to the *Venetian* Name, had done excessive Damages to the Effects of the Nobles, extending their Rage and Savageness to the very Houses, which they laid in

*Expedition against the Ferrareſe.* Ashes or Ruins. It was therefore resolved that the Fleet, consisting of Seventeen

light Galleys, with an extraordinary Number of smaller Barks, well manned with able Men, under the Conduct of *Angelo Trevifano*, should set sail towards *Ferrara*. They entered the *Po* by the Mouth of the *Fornaci*, and after burning *Corbola* and other Villages near the *Po*, ravaged and laid waste all the Country as far as the *Lago Scuro*, from which Place the light Horse that attended them by Land scoured the Country home to *Ficeluolo*,

*ruolo*, which may be deemed a Palace rather than a Fortress, and is famous for the long Siege it sustained from *Roberto da San Severino*, the *Venetian General*, in the War against *Hercole*, Father of *Alfonso*.

THE Coming of this Fleet, and the Report that the Army was to approach by Land, startled the Duke of *Ferrara*, who had very few regular Troops, and the People of *Ferrara* were not sufficient, either in Number or the Use of Arms, to resist so great a Danger. The Succours which he expected from the Pope and the King of *France* were not yet arrived, till which Time he had no other Defence to make than to plant as many Pieces of Cannon as he could furnish upon the Banks of the *Po*, and by their continual Firing prevent the Enemy from passing forwards. *Trevisano* then, having in vain attempted to pass, and finding he could make no further Progress without Assistance by Land, stationed his Fleet in the Middle of the *Po*, behind a little Island that lies over against the *Pulifella*, a Place Eleven Miles distant from *Ferrara*, and

con-

*A. D.* convenient for infesting and distressing  
*1509.* that City. Here he lay in Expectation of  
the Army, which had made themselves  
Masters of the whole Polesine without  
any Difficulty, after they had first taken  
*Montagnana*, which surrendered upon  
Articles, by which the *Ferrarese* Magi-  
strates and the Officers of the Garrison  
were to remain Prisoners. In the mean  
time *Trevisano*, the better to secure his  
Fleet in their Station till the Arrival of  
the Land Forces, set about erecting, with  
all possible Speed, two Redoubts on the  
Banks of the *Po*, one on the Side to-  
wards *Ferrara*, and the other on the op-  
posite Bank, laying also over the Vessels  
a Bridge of Communication between the  
Fleet and the Redoubt erecting towards  
*Ferrara*. To prevent the Completion of  
this Redoubt the Duke, with more Cou-  
rage perhaps than Prudence, assembled as  
many as he could of the Youth of *Fer-  
rara*, and of the Soldiers who continually  
flocked to list under him, and ordered  
them to make a sudden Attack upon it.  
But the Soldiers in the Redoubt, being  
reinforced from the Fleet, sallied out to  
engage,

A. D.  
1509.

engage, and began to put them to Flight; and tho' the Duke arriving in Person with a good Number of Horse, revived the Courage, and remedied the Disorder of his Troops, which were for the most part raw and undisciplined, yet so vigorous was the Attack of the Enemy, who were also favoured by the Place, and made such Execution with the Fire of a Multitude of small Artillery, that he was forced to retreat, leaving many of his Men killed or taken, and not such a Number of the baser and ruder Sort, as of his bravest Soldiers, and of the *Ferrarese* Nobility; among whom was *Hercole Cantelmo*, a young Nobleman of vast Hopes, whose Ancestors had been in possession of the Dutchy of *Sora* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. This unfortunate Youth was led Prisoner by some *Sclavonian* Soldiers aboard a Galley, and a Quarrel arising among them on disputing whose Prisoner he was, one of them, in a most savage and unparalleled Manner, struck off his Head. Upon this Defeat the City of *Ferrara* being apprehended to be in Danger, *Chaumont* sent thither *Chatillon* with One Hundred

Duke of  
*Ferrara*  
routed.

*A. D.* and Fifty French Lances ; and the Pope,  
*1509.* irritated against the *Venetians* for attacking  
the *Ferrarese* without any Regard to the  
Superiority which the Church claims over  
that Territory, ordered Two Hundred  
Men at Arms, which he had in the Ser-  
vice of *Cæsar*, to hasten to the Defence  
of *Ferrara*. But these Succours would  
perhaps have come too late, if the *Vene-  
tians* had not been constrained to turn  
their Thoughts on providing for their  
own Defence.

THE King of *France*, as we before  
observed, was not displeased to see *Maxi-  
milian* involved in Difficulties, partly from  
a Dread, which he had always entertain-  
ed, of that Prince's Prosperity, and partly  
out of a Desire to render himself Sov-  
ereign of the City of *Verona*, of which he  
was in hopes that *Maximilian*, enforced  
by his Necessities, would, at one Time  
or other, grant him the Possession, either  
by Purchase or Pledge. But, on the  
other hand, he could by no means endure  
to see the *Venetians* rising to their antient  
Grandeur, from which he foresaw nothing  
but

but Trouble and continual Danger to his own Affairs. The Preparations therefore which *Cæsar* had made in *Verona* being utterly insufficient for want of Money, the King was under a Necessity to procure some other Supplies, besides the Men at Arms that had entered that City, to prevent it from falling into the Hands of the *Venetians*. This Measure was first put in Execution by *Chaumont*, who, after the Loss of *Vicenza*, had advanced to the Frontiers of the *Veronese*, where being informed that Two Thousand *Spanish* Infantry in *Verona* were beginning to mutiny for want of Pay, he listed them into the Service of the King his Master, and ordered thither another Body of Foot for the Security of the Place. In hiring the *Spaniards* he followed the Counsel of *Trivulzio*, who, when *Chaumont* doubted whether the King would be displeased at such an additional Expence, answered, that it was much better the King should reproach him for spending his Money, than with losing or endangering his State. Besides this, he lent *Cæsar* Eight Thousand Ducats to pay the Garrison of *Verona*,

1. D. and for Security of this and some other  
1509 Sums which he was to lay out for his Benefit in Time to come, he got *Valeggio* mortgaged to his Master. This Place is one of the Passes of the River *Mincio*, so that he who is Master of this Town and of *Peschiera* has the Command of that River, and being but six Miles distant from *Brescia* is a Security to that City, which made it highly valued by the King.

THE Coming of *Chaumont*, followed by the greater Part of the Lances quartered in the Dutchy of *Milan*, the Reinforcement of the Garrison of *Verona*, and the spreading of a Report that Preparations were making for the Siege of *Vicenza*, had occasioned the *Venetian* Army, after leaving Four Hundred light Horse, and as many Foot, for the Defence of the *Polesine*, and for the Safeguard of their Fleet, to depart out of the *Ferrarese*, and to distribute themselves into *Lignago*, *Soave*, and *Vicenza*. And the Senate, being very desirous of securing *Vicenza* and the circumjacent Country from being in

insulted by the Garrison of *Verona*, they <sup>A. D.</sup>  
fortified that Territory with a wide Ditch, <sup>1509.</sup>  
full of Water, which they covered by a  
Rampart, on which were erected at pro-  
per distances a Multitude of Redoubts;  
a Work worthy of great Admiration.  
This Ditch beginning at the Foot of the  
Mountain that is above *Soave*, extended  
itself through the Plain that leads from  
*Lonigo* \* to *Monforte*, for the Space of  
five Miles, and ends at a Marsh contiguous  
to the River *Adice*. They fortified also  
*Soave* and *Lonigo*, and by their keeping  
themselves on their Guard secured the  
whole Country, at least for the Winter.

THE Departure of the *Venetian Army*  
gave some Relief, but did not wholly free  
*Ferrara* from Danger. For tho' the  
City was delivered from the Fear of being  
taken by Force, there was Cause to apprehend  
that the People, by their continual  
Losses and Sufferings, would be reduced  
to extreme Poverty, or abandon them-  
selves

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\* The *Italian Copies* have it *Rovigo*, which is an  
Error of the *Press*, for *Rovigo* is at a vast Distance from  
*Soave*.

A. D. 1509. selves to utter Despair. For the Troops

aboard the Fleet, with those that accompanied them, made Excursions every Day to the very Gates of *Ferrara*; and another Fleet of the *Venetians* had attacked the Duke's Dominion on another Quarter, and taken *Comacchio*. At this Juncture arrived the Troops of the Pope and of the King of *France*, which encouraged the Duke, who since the Loss received at the Attack of the Redoubt had taken care to keep his Troops strongly entrenched under the Cannon of *Ferrara*, from thence to make frequent Excursions with his Horse in Sight of the Enemy, with a Design to draw them to a Battle; but they, expecting the Return of their Army, avoided an Engagement. It happened one Day that the Cardinal *d'Este* having led up a Body of Horse very near the Redoubt, and being on his Return, a Cannon Ball, from one of the Enemy's Vessels, took off the Head of Count *Lodovico della Mirandola*, one of the Generals of the Church, no Person besides, in so great a Multitude, receiving the least Hurt by this or any other Shot. At

last,

A. D.

1599.

last, the perfect Knowledge of the Country, and the Nature and Conveniency of the River suggested and facilitated an Expedient, which in the Beginning had appeared difficult and dangerous. For the Duke and the Cardinal entertaining Hopes of shattering and destroying the Enemy's Fleet with their Artillery, provided they could but convey it with Safety to the Bank of the River, the Cardinal, with Part of the Troops, returned to attack the Redoubt, and having repulsed and killed some of the Enemy, who had sallied forth, he made himself Master of, and fortified the Bank near the Redoubt, and in the Beginning of the Night he brought down his Cannon without being perceived by the Enemy, and planted it in great Silence along the Bank opposite to the Enemy's Fleet. When it began to play it did horrible Execution, and tho' all the Vessels immediately put themselves in Motion to get away, yet the Bank being planted for a good Length with a Multitude of heavy Pieces of Artillery, managed by skilful Hands, and commanding at a great Distance, the Enemy only shifted the Place

A. D. of Danger, but could not avoid it; the  
1509.

Duke himself, who was very skilful in the Casting as well as Management of Artillery, came in Person, and exerted himself in a very extraordinary Manner. The *Venetians* ceased not to fire from their Vessels with great and small Shot, but to no Purpose, for those on the Side of the River were covered by the Rising of the Bank \*. But such was the Violence of the Shot from the Duke's heavy Fleet destroyed by Pieces of Cannon, that the whole Fleet the Duke was shattered, torn and lost by various of Ferrara and terrible Misfortunes. For some of the Commanders finding themselves unable to stand the Fire surrendered; some Vessels were set on Fire by the Shot, and miserably burnt with all that were on board, and others sunk lest they should fall into the Hands of the Enemy. The Admiral, soon after the Beginning of the Action, put himself into a Skiff, and saved himself by Flight. His Galley, after making her Way off for Three Miles,

con-

\* *Giovio* says that the Cardinal, with great Skill and Contrivance, caused Holes to be made in the Bank of the River, which were level with the Water, at which he placed the Mouths of his Cannon.

continually firing, defending herself, and providing against the Strokes she received, <sup>D. A.</sup> ~~1509.~~ was at last shot through in so many Places that she went to the Bottom. Whilst nothing was to be seen but Blood, Fire, and dead Bodies, Fifteen Gallies fell into the Duke's Hands, besides some large Vessels, Shallops and Brigantines, and of smaller Craft almost an infinite Number. The Dead, that were killed by the Shot, or burnt, or drowned, amounted to Two Thousand; Sixty Colours were taken, but not the principal Flag, which was carried off by the Commander. Many fled by Land, and Part of them were picked up by the *Venetian* light Horse, and saved, others were pursued and taken by the Enemy, and some fell into the Hands of the Peasants, and were very ill treated by them. The Vessels that were taken were brought up to *Ferrara*, where they remained many Years as a Monument of the Victory, till *Alfonso*, desirous to gratify the *Venetian* Senate, ordered them to be restored. The Fleet being thus ruined and destroyed, the Duke immediately sent Three Hundred Horse and

A. D. Five Hundred Foot to do the like Execution upon the Fleet that had taken *Comacchio*. These Troops having recovered *Loreto*, which had been fortified by the *Venetians*, it is probable, would have had the like Success, and destroyed those Ships, had not the Admiral, apprised of the Danger, retired to *Bebbie*.

SUCH was the End of the Expedition against *Ferrara*, which lasted a Month, and in which the Event, oftentimes the best Rule for forming our Judgment of Actions, plainly shewed how much better it had been to hearken to the Counsel of a Few, who advised the Senate to omit all other Enterprises, to reserve their Money for a fairer Opportunity, and to attend only to the Preservation of *Padua*, *Trevigi*, and those other Places which they had recovered, than to those who, more in Number, but inferior in Prudence, and incited by Enmity and Resentment, were ready to involve themselves in an Undertaking, which begun with Temerity, and ended with a vast

Ex-

## THE WARS IN ITALY.

379

A. D.

1509.

Expence, and no small Disgrace and Detriment to the Public.

But on the Side of *Padua* the Affairs of the *Venetians* were rather prosperous than otherwise. For *Cæsar* presenting himself in the *Vicentine* at the Head of Four Thousand Foot, a Part of the *Venetian Army*, not very considerable, assisted by the *Peasants*, took, almost in his Sight, the *Pass* of *Scala*, and after that *Cocolo*, and *Basciano*, which is a Place of Importance for preventing the Descent of the *Germans* into *Italy*. *Maximilian* complaining that by the Departure of *Palisse* many Disorders had happened, set out for *Bolzano* in his Way to *Innspruck*, to be present at the Diet which he had ordered to be held at that Place. His Example was followed by *Chamont*, who laid aside his Design upon *Vicenza* and *Ligurno*, considering that those Places were well provided, and the Season of the Year too far advanced, and retired to *Milan*, leaving good Garrisons in *Brescia*, *Peschiera* and *Valeggio*. He left also in *Verona*, for the Defence of that City, because

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A. D. cause *Cæsar* himself had not the Means  
<sup>1509.</sup> to defend it, Six Hundred Lances, and  
Four Thousand Foot. These Troops  
were separated from *Cæsar*'s, and had  
their Quarters in the Suburb of *San Zexo*,  
having for their greater Security the  
Possession of the Cittadel,

Description  
of  
Verona.

VERONA is an antient and noble City,  
divided into two Parts by the *Adice*, a very  
large and deep River, which rises in the  
Mountains of *Germany*, and as soon as it  
descends into the Plains, turns to the Left,  
and, after washing the Foot of the Mount-  
ains, enters *Verona*, and as soon as it  
leaves the Town it turns off from the  
Mountains, and takes its Course through  
a very fine and fertile plain. That Part  
of the City which is seated mostly on  
a Declivity, lies towards *Germany* ;  
the rest, which is wholly situated in a  
Plain, lies towards *Mantoua*. On a Hill,  
by the Gate of *San Giorgio*, stands the  
Castle of *San Piero* ; and at two Bow-  
shots higher, on the Top of the Hill, is  
the Castle of *San Felice*. The chief  
Strength of these Castles lies in their Si-  
tuation,

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1509.

tuation, for if they should be taken, they overlook and command the Place in such a Manner that *Verona* would be in great Danger. They were garrisoned by *Germans*; but in the Part of the City, which is separated from this by the River, stands the old Castle, that lies in the Way to *Peschiera*; it is seated almost in the Center of the City, and has a Bridge over the River. At three Bowshots Distance from this Castle, towards *Vicenza*, stands the Cittadel, which is joined to the Castle by the Walls of the City on the Outside, making a Semicircle. But on the Inside they are joined by a Wall erected between two vast Fosses; the Space between the two Walls is called the Suburb of *San Zeno*, which with the Cittadel was appointed for quartering the *French*.

WHILE the military Operations seemed as it were at a Stand, *Maximilian* was continually treating about making a Truce with the *Venetians*, the Pope interesting himself very heartily in the Affair by his Nuntio *Achille de' Graffi*, Bishop

4. D. Bishop of *Pefaro*. For this Purpose was  
1599. held at the *Spedaleotto* near *Scala* a Conference between the Ambassadors of *Maximilian* and the *Venetian* Ambassadors, *Giovanni Cornaro* and *Luigi Mocenigo*. But *Cesar* insisted on such high Demands, that the Treaty came to nothing; to the great Mortification of the Pontiff, who was desirous to have the *Venetians* delivered from all their Distresses. And since there was no Ground of Contention between the Pope and them, he had prevailed with them to restore to the Duke of *Ferrara* the Town of *Comacchio*, which they had taken and burnt, and to promise him that they would no more molest the Duke's Dominions. His Holiness now took the Duke under his particular Protection, in hopes that, in Gratitude for the Benefits which he had received, and might expect to receive, he should oblige him to depend more on himself than on the King of *France*, against whom he was continually employing his Thoughts in laying a Foundation for the Execution of some Project of vast Importance. With this View he had privately dispatched a

trusty

trusty Person to the King of *England*, and entered into a Treaty with the *Swiss*, who at that Time begun to have some Disputes with the King of *France*; and therefore when the Bishop of *Sion*, called by the *Latin* Writers *Episcopus Sedunensis*, who was an Enemy to the King, and on that account expected to be made a Cardinal, waited on his Holiness, he met with a very chearful Reception.

AT the End of this Year was an Agreement concluded between the King of the *Romans* and his Catholic Majesty, who were at Variance about the Government of the Kingdom of *Castile*. This Agreement, which had been long negotiating in the Court of *France*, where it met with many Difficulties, was, for want of Prudence in the Cardinal of *Rouen*, who did not consider that the Friendship between these two Princes might be very prejudicial to his Master's Interest, brought to Perfection. He might imagine perhaps that the making himself the Author of this Reconciliation might help to pave the Way for his Advancement to the Pontificate,

A. D. 1509. care, and therefore used his utmost Pain's and Diligence to accomplish it ; by which, together with his Authority, he disposed *Maximilian* to consent that the Catholic King, whilst he remained without male Issue, should be Governor of *Castile* till *Charles*, their common Grandson, should be Five and Twenty Years of Age ; that *Charles* should not assume the Title of King while his Mother was living, who had the Title of Queen, because in *Castile* the Females are not excluded by the Males. The Catholic King was to pay *Cæsar* Fifty Thousand Ducats, and to assist him, according to the Treaty of *Cambray*, till he was in Possession of all that belonged to him, and was to allow *Charles* a yearly Pension of Forty Thousand Ducats. By this Convention the King of *Aragon* was established in the Government of the Kingdom of *Castile*, and found means of acquiring the Confidence of *Cæsar*, by the Removal of all Occasions of Contention, and by their mutual Attachment to the Interest of their common Grandson ; which enabled him with the greater Spirit to attend to the Prevention

tion of the Greatness of the King of *France*, of which he had been always <sup>A. D.</sup> ~~jealous~~ <sup>1509.</sup> jealous, on account of his Pretensions to the Kingdom of *Naples*.

THE Pope at this Time had entertained also a Suspicion that the Prothonotary of the *Bentivogli*, who was at *Cremona*, was treating about finding means for returning secretly into *Bologna*. On this Surmise he caused *Giuliano de' Medici* to be arrested by some trusty Persons, and confined in the Palace of *Bologna*. And ascribing every Disturbance he received to the ill Will of the King of *France*, he pretended to be under Apprehensions that he designed to pass into *Italy* with a View to depose him, and, by a forced Election, place the Cardinal of *Rouen* in the papal Chair. And yet at the same time he could not forbear to speak in a detracting and disrespectful Manner of *Cæsar*, and in Terms injurious to his Honour, as if he were a Person unqualified for so high a Dignity, and by his Incapacity had brought the Name of the Empire into Contempt.

*A. D.* At the End of this Year died Count  
 1509. *Pitigliano*, Captain General of the *Vene-*  
 Death of *tians*, in a far advanced Age, and of long  
 Count Pi- Experience in military Affairs. The  
*tigliano*. *Venetians* repos'd an entire Confidence in  
 his Fidelity, and were never afraid that  
 he would endanger their Dominions by a  
 rash or precipitate Measure\*.

*Actions in* IN this perplexed and uncertain State  
 the Ver- of Affairs we are now entering on the  
*nese.* Year 1510, in the Beginning of which  
 the Operations of War, on account of  
 the Seaso, proceeded but coldly. The  
*Venetian Army*, which had their Quarters  
 at *San Bonifacio* in the *Veronese*, kept  
*Verona* in a manner blockaded. One Day  
*Carlo Baglione*, *Federigo da Bozzolo*, and

Sa-

\* The Count died at *Lonigo*, a Castle in the *Vicentine*,  
 of a slow Fever, which reduced him to Extremities.  
 But before his Death he sent for the Proveditors and  
 Generals of the Army, and recommended to them, in  
 the strongest Terms, the *Venetian Republic*, in which  
 subsisted, as he assured them, the whole Ornament of the  
*Italian Military*. His Body was carried to *Venice*, and  
 honourably interred in the Church of *San Giovanni and*  
*Paolo* in a beautiful Sepulchre, over which the Senate or-  
 dered to be erected his Statue on Horseback. *Bembo* and  
*Giustiniano*.

*Sacromoro Visconte*, sallying out of that City to reconnoitre the Enemy, were attacked by the Stradiotti, who routed them, and took *Carlo* and *Sacromoro*, but *Federigo* saved himself by help of the *French*, who sallied out of *Verona* to their Assistance. Not long after the Stradiotti routed another Squadron of *French* Horse, and took Prisoner, among others, the Sieur *de Clefi*. On the other Side Two Hundred *French* Lances, with Three Thousand Foot, came out of *Verona*, and took by Storm a Redoubt near *Soave*, garrisoned by Six Hundred Foot; and in their Return broke and put to Flight a great Multitude of Peasants.

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1510.

BUT in the Midst of this Coldness and Remissness of the military Operations, Affairs of the greatest Moment employed the Thoughts of the Royal Sovereigns, Affairs of Maximi-lian. and especially those of the King of the *Romans*, who, being utterly at a Loss how to carry on the War against the *Venetians* with any Prospect of Success, and referring his Affairs, as usual, from Diet to Diet, had now called a Diet at *Ausburg*.

*A. D.* <sup>1510.</sup> He was displeased also with the Pope, because the Electors of the Empire, induced by the Authority of his Holiness, insisted on treating in the Diet of a Peace with the *Venetians* before they deliberated on making Provisions for a War. To shew his Resentment therefore he dismissed the Bishop of *Pesaro*, the Pope's Nuncio, from *Augsburg*. He then considered with himself that the Resolutions of Diets were uncertain, tedious, and attended with many Difficulties, and that generally the End of one Diet gave occasion for the Beginning of another \*. The King of *France*, he found, was continually excusing himself from answering his Demands, or going on those Enterprises which were proposed to him, sometimes alledging the Severity of the Season, sometimes demanding a sure Assignment for Security of his Expences; and then would also put him in Mind that the Pope and the King of *Aragon* were, by the Articles of *Cambray*, under the same Obligations to

\* To consider further of the most material Points proposed in the former; which was indeed a very tedious and uncertain Method of Proceeding.

A. D.  
1510.

assist him as himself; and that, as he was engaged in common Confederacy and Obligations with these Princes, it was fit that they should proceed with one common Consent.

MAXIMILIAN, after all, could not think of a better Remedy for his disordered Affairs than to persuade the King of France to undertake the Conquests of Padoua, Vicenza, and Trevigi with French Forces, on receiving a suitable Recompence. This Proposal was approved by many of the King's Council, who considering that, till the Venetians were totally excluded from the *Terra firma*, his Majesty must be at a vast Expence for preserving his Dominions, advised him now, once for all, to lay out his Money freely, and spare no Cost to free himself from all future Apprehensions. The King was not wholly averse to this Counsel for the same Reason, and therefore was inclined to pass into Italy with a potent Army; he called it *potent*, whenever it consisted of more than Sixteen Hundred Lances, with his standing Troops, and

*A. D.* Gentlemen. He was, however induced  
<sup>1510.</sup> by different Reasons to form other Sentiments, and stood much in Suspense, not knowing which Way to resolve. And he was in a greater Perplexity than usual, because the Cardinal of *Rouen*, who bore a mighty Sway, and was of a great Spirit, labouring under a tedious and troublesome Distemper, could not attend on public Busines, which used to be under his sole Direction. What restrained the King, besides his natural Aversion to Profuseness, was a passionate Desire to become Master of *Verona*; for which End he thought it most advisable that *Maximilian* should be kept constantly employed, and involved in such Difficulties as to require his Aid, as he had done lately, when not being able to pay his *German* Troops in Garrison at *Verona*, on Application, he had lent him Eighteen Thousand Ducats, and engaged to make it up Fifty Thousand, on Condition that for his Security he should not only keep the Cittadel of *Verona*, but should have *Castel Vecchio* consigned to him, with the Gate of the City next to it, for the Benefit of free Ingress and Egress;

King of  
France  
covets  
*Verona*.

and

and if the Money were not repaid within *A. D.*  
1510. One Year, the King was to remain in ~~the~~ perpetual Possession of *Valeggio*, with Leave to fortify that Town and the Cittadel at *Cæsar's* Expence.

THE King was perplexed in Mind on these Accounts, but he was much more *King of France*  
embarrassed. disturbed with the Apprehensions of totally losing the Favour of the Pope, if he should lead or send a new Army into *Italy*. For the Pontiff, possessed with Jealousy, was very loth that the King of *France* should become Lord of *Verona*, and, besides continuing in his Disposition to absolve the *Venetians* from his Censures, he endeavoured, by all Means, to contract an Alliance with the *Swiss*, and with this View had sent back the Bishop of *Sion* to his Country, with Money for that Nation, and the Promise of a Cardinal's Hat for himself. He laboured also, with the utmost Diligence, to alienate the Affections of the King of *England* from the King of *France*. The former of these two Princes, tho' charged by his Father, when at the Point of Death, for his own Quiet

*A. D.* and Security, to continue in Friendship  
<sup>1510.</sup> with the Kingdom of *France*, for which  
the *French* paid him the yearly Sum of  
Fifty Thousand Ducats, yet, incited by  
the Heat of Youth, and the vast Treasure  
left him by his Father, seemed to be more  
influenced by the Counsels of those who,  
induced by a Desire of Innovations, and  
by the general inveterate Enmity of the  
*English* Nation to the Name of the *French*,  
were for hurrying their King into a War,  
than by the prudent Advice and Example  
of his Father, who was never embroiled  
with the *French*, and tho' he had been  
made King of a new and very unsettled  
Kingdom, yet held the Reins of Govern-  
ment with all due Obedience from his  
Subjects, and perfect Tranquillity to  
himself. These Considerations created  
great Uneasiness in the King of *France*,  
who was removed to *Lions*, that he might  
be nearer at hand to attend to the Affairs  
of *Italy*; but he was apprehensive that  
his Passage into that Country would give  
Occasion to the Pope, who had openly  
detested his Coming, to raise new Broils  
and Disturbances. He was also dissuaded  
from

from this Expedition by the King of *Aragon*, in which he pretended to act only <sup>A. D. 1510.</sup> the Part of a Friend, and a Lover of the public Tranquillity.

UNDER these Embarrassments and Doubts, which presented themselves from every Quarter, *Lewis* found at last that the best and surest Advice he could take, was to use all his Interest and Application <sup>King of France</sup> for softening the Spirit of the Pontiff, so <sup>seeks the Favour of</sup> far at least as to be assured of not having <sup>the Pope.</sup> him for an Opposer or Enemy. For accomplishing this End there seemed to offer a favourable Opportunity, for it was believed that the Death of the Cardinal of *Rouen*, whose Disorder was so great that he was not expected to live, would be the Means of removing that Jealousy which was generally believed to be the principal Cause of those Alterations in the Pope. And because the King was informed that the Cardinal of *Aus*, Nephew of *Rouen*, and those other Agents who had the Management of his Affairs in the Court of *Rome*, rashly and inconsiderately, both in their Words and Actions, made it their

Busi-

A. D.

1510.

Business to exasperate instead of mollifying, as it was necessary, the Spirit of the Pontiff, he would no longer employ them, but sent post to *Rome Alberto Pio*, Count of *Carpi*, a Person of great Spirit and Dexterity. He was entrusted with a very ample Commission, and was not only to offer his Holiness the Forces and Authority of the King on all Occasions, and in what manner he pleased, and to behave himself towards him with all that Respect and Regard which were most agreeable to his Nature and Inclination, but also sincerely to communicate the whole Substance of what the King had treated with *Maximilian*, with that Prince's Requests; and also to refer to the final Determination of his Holiness, whether he should pass into *Italy* or not, and whether he should be ready or remiss in sending Assistance to *Cæsar*. He had also in Charge to oppose the Absolution of the *Venetians*, but that was a Point already determined and promised by the Pope before the Ambassador's Arrival.

THE *Venetians*, after a Dispute of many Months

A. D.

1510.

Months between their Ambassadors and the Pope's Commissioners, consented to ~~the~~ the Conditions at which they had boggled, because they saw no other Remedy for their Security than to comply with them.

On the 24th of *February* the Conditions on which the Absolution was to be granted were read in a Consistory, in the Presence of the *Venetian* Ambassadors, who confirmed them with an Instrument by an authentic Order of their Republic.

They were in Substance as follows : The *Venetians* shall not confer, or in any <sup>The Con-</sup>ditions. Manner whatsoever grant Benefices or Ecclesiastical Dignities, nor oppose or make any Difficulties about receiving those Provisions made concerning them which come from the Court of *Rome* : That they should not obstruct the Tryal of Causes relating to Benefices, or of any Matters appertaining to the ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in the aforesaid Court : That they should not charge with Tythes, or any kind of Imposition, the Goods of the Church, or of Places exempt from the temporal Dominion : That they should withdraw the Appeal which they had interposed from the

A. D. <sup>1510.</sup> the Monitory, and all their Rights, how-  
soever acquired, to the Towns of the  
Church, particularly the Right which  
they pretended to have of keeping a  
Bisdomino in *Ferrara*: That the Subjects  
of the Church, and their Shipping shall  
have free Navigation in the Gulf, and  
with such ample Privileges, that the Mer-  
chandise of other Nations in their Bot-  
toms shall not be searched, nor declared  
liable to pay any Duties or Customs:  
That they shall not in any manner inter-  
meddle with the Affairs of *Ferrara*, or  
of any Town of that State depending on  
the Church: That all Covenants made  
with any Subject or Vassal of the Church  
in prejudice of the ecclesiastical Rights  
shall be disannulled: That they shall give  
no Reception to any Dukes, Barons, or  
other Subjects or Vassals of the Church,  
who shall be Rebels or Enemies to the  
Apostolic See: That they shall restore  
all the Sums levied upon the Effects of  
Ecclesiastics, and indemnify the Church  
for all the Losses it had sustained by their  
Means.

THESE

THESE Obligations, with the Promises and Renunciations required, being received in the Consistory, the *Venetian* Ambassadors on the Day appointed, according to antient Precedents, repaired to the Porch of *Saint Peter's* Church, where prostrating themselves at the Feet of the Pontiff, who sat in the pontifical Chair near the Brazen Gates, the whole Body of Cardinals and a great Number of Prelates assisting, they humbly asked Pardon, confessing their Obstinacy and the Faults they had committed. After this certain Prayers being read, and the accustomed Ceremonies solemnly performed, the Pope received them into Favour, gave them his Absolution, and enjoined them for Penance to visit the Seven Churches. Having thus obtained Absolution they entered the Church of *St. Peter*, being introduced by the chief Penitentiary. From hence they were honourably accompanied, not as Persons any longer excommunicated, or interdicted, but as good Christians, and devout Sons of the Apostolic See, by a Number of the Prelates and Courtiers, to their respective

A. D. <sup>1510.</sup> respective Habitations. The Ambassadors after their Absolution returned to *Venice*, leaving only at *Rome* *Girolamo Donato*, one of their Number, a Person of excellent Learning, who by his extraordinary Parts and Dexterity greatly ingratuated himself with the Pope, and did signal Service to his Country in future Negotiations with his Holiness \*.

\* It being customary for the Pope, when he restores his Blessing to any Prince or Republic, to give it with Rods on the Shoulders of their Ambassadors on the Staircase of the Vatican, *Julius*, in Honour to the *Venetians*, changed that Penance into an Order for visiting the Seven Churches. *Buonac.*

*Giovio* writes, that *Julius* settled first with the *Venetian* Ambassadors that the Senate should depute Six of their most conspicuous Noblemen to implore Absolution publickly, and in a penitent Manner, in the Portico of *St. Peter's Church*.

*End of the Eighth Book and Fourth Volume.*

### E R R A T A.

Page 23. r. *Fregoso*. p. 47. r. excludes. p. 62. r. *Gambacorta*. p. 73. r. lead. p. 79. r. continued. p. 104. Blot out so that. p. 188. line 19. after from the *insert* Temerity and too insolent Proceedings. p. 219. r. Ambassadors. p. 238. r. Arms. p. 328. r. *Montselice*. p. 380. r. *Zeno*.



Explanation of Names in the Third and  
Fourth Volumes.

<i>Dionigi</i>	<i>Denys</i>
<i>Ferdinando</i>	<i>Ferdinand</i>
<i>Federigo</i>	<i>Frederick</i>
<i>Giulio</i>	<i>Julius</i>
<i>Ugo</i>	<i>Hugh</i>
<i>Leonardo</i>	<i>Leonard</i>
<i>Ercole</i>	<i>Austin</i>
<i>Hercole,</i>	<i>Trent</i>
<i>Agostino</i>	<i>Mantua</i>
<i>Trento</i>	<i>Padua</i>
<i>Mantoua</i>	<i>Baptist</i>
<i>Padoua</i>	<i>John Baptist.</i>
<i>Battista</i>	<i>John Jordan</i>
<i>Giovanbattista</i>	<i>Emanuel</i>
<i>Gianjordano</i>	<i>Hector</i>
<i>Manuelo.</i>	<i>Mark</i>
<i>Ettore</i>	<i>Titus</i>
<i>Marco</i>	<i>St. Martin</i>
<i>Tito</i>	<i>St. German</i>
<i>San Martino</i>	<i>Valentine</i>
<i>San Germano</i>	<i>Zachary</i>
<i>Valentino</i>	<i>Lewis</i>
<i>Zaccaria</i>	<i>John Lewis</i>
<i>Luigi</i>	<i>River Adige</i>
<i>Giovan Luigi</i>	<i>Elizabeth</i>
<i>Adice</i>	<i>Luke</i>
<i>Elisabetta</i>	<i>Holy Cross</i>
<i>Luca</i>	
<i>Santa Croce</i>	

Pan-

<i>Pandolfo</i>	<i>Pandolph</i>
<i>San Giorgio</i>	<i>St. George</i>
<i>Marco Antonio</i>	<i>Mark Anthony</i>
<i>Alfonso</i>	<i>Alfonsus</i>
<i>Giovio</i>	<i>Jovius</i>
<i>Bembo</i>	<i>Bembus</i>
<i>Giustiniano</i>	<i>Justinian</i>
<i>Polbattista</i>	<i>Paul Baptist</i>
<i>Matteo</i>	<i>Matthew</i>
<i>Giorgio</i>	<i>George</i>
<i>Marguerite</i>	<i>Margaret,</i>
<i>Alberto</i>	<i>Albert</i>
<i>Andrea</i>	<i>Andrew</i>
<i>Filippo</i>	<i>Philip</i>
<i>Filippo Maria</i>	<i>Philip Mary</i>
<i>Gio. Francesco</i>	<i>John Francis</i>
<i>Francesco Maria</i>	<i>Francis Mary</i>
<i>Guido</i>	<i>Guy</i>
<i>Constantino</i>	<i>Constantine</i>
<i>Bernardo</i>	<i>Bernard</i>
<i>Bernardino</i>	<i>Lactantius</i>
<i>Lattantio</i>	<i>All Saints</i>
<i>Ognisanti</i>	<i>Long-tail</i>
<i>Codalunga</i>	<i>Lucius</i>
<i>Lucio</i>	<i>Old Castle</i>
<i>Castel Vecchio</i>	<i>Old City</i>
<i>Civita Vecchia</i>	

N. B. The same Name of Persons and Places terminates sometimes with a different Vowel, as *Grimaldo* or *Grimaldi*, *Este* or *Esti*.



